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NORRIS E. DODD

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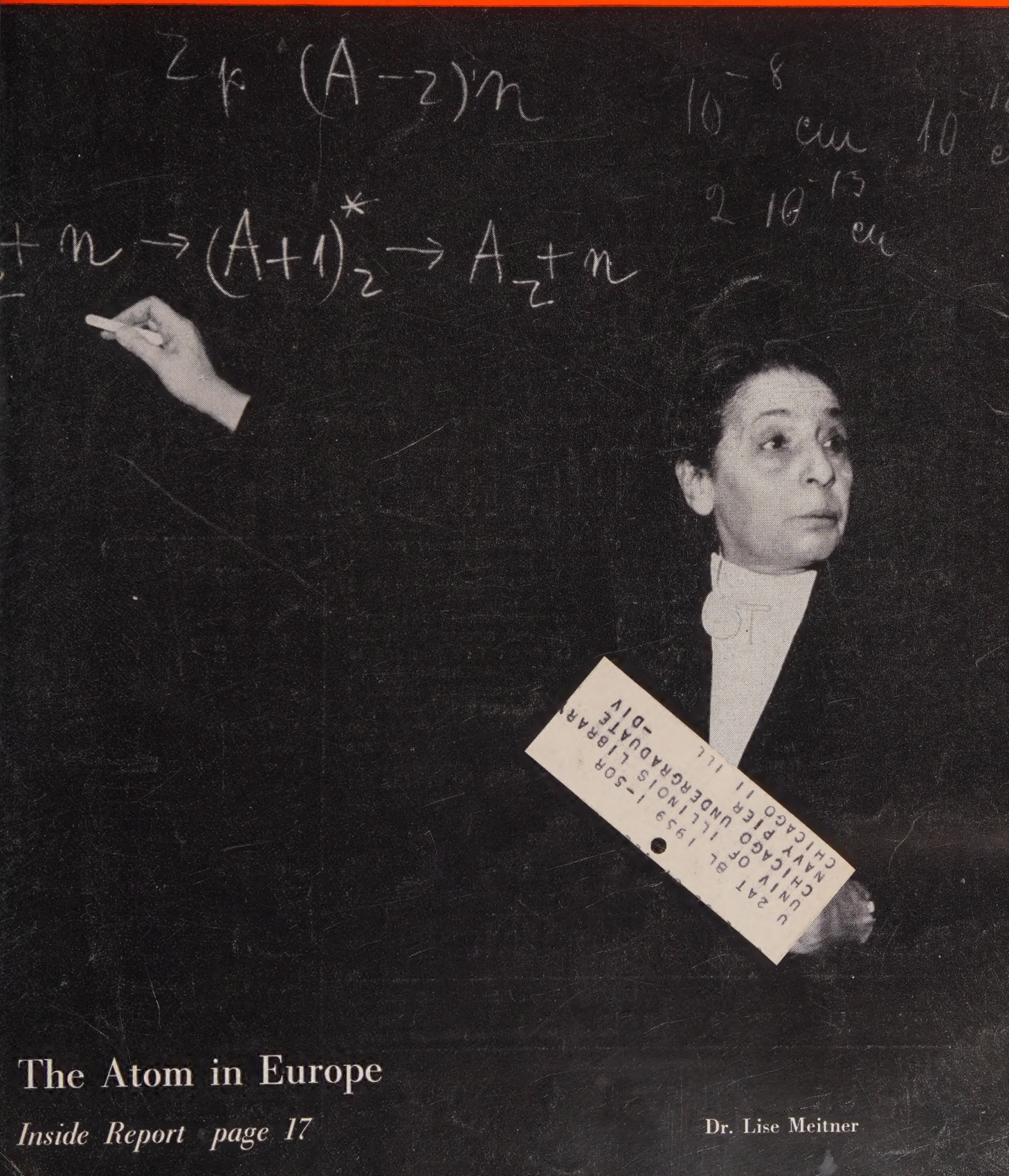

The Atom in Europe

Inside Report page 17

Dr. Lise Meitner

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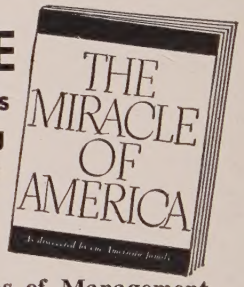

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Letters

TO
THE
EDITOR

For More Populi

I maintain that the great majority of your readers are interested in learning more about the peoples of the countries represented in the UN, rather than what their *appointed* delegates said on the subject of the boundary dispute between Greece and Yugoslavia. It is my belief that until the peoples of the world speak through their *elected* representatives, the real power of the UN will never be demonstrated. Let us have more contact between the common people and less diplomatic jockeying for national prestige.

ALICE E. MILLER
Montreal West, Quebec
Canada

Peace—and Nothing But

I have read in the last issue of UNW an article about China which makes sense. Not a word about democracy; not a word about Christianity. But about material help in no way tied up with any ideology. I am against the UN because of its ideology. . . . If you want peace, please don't go crusading for any cause but peace.

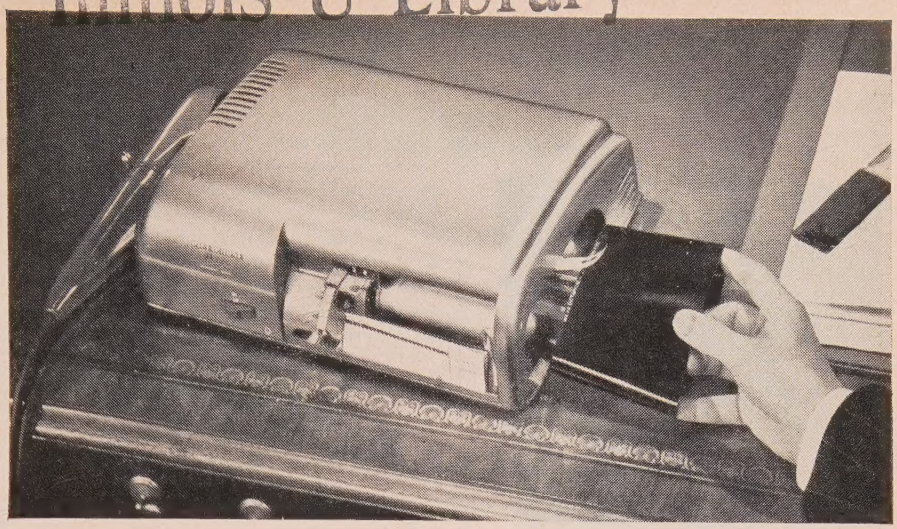
. . . Bluffs and blunders will be paid for. We lose China. We shall lose Korea, and Japan, and South East Asia as well. America with all her power and materialistic knowledge was the last of the countries to be trusted as a leader. For three years now I have been saying the same thing—"What for?"

I think the chief value of the magazine—and my journalists all object most seriously to the format and cover—is the realization that this is the only magazine devoted exclusively to the "One World" policy and the presentation of possible plans to attain that "One World." I think the big value to such a University as Montana—an isolated state—is that UNW tends to increase world consciousness, tends to make students realize the provincial quality of their thinking and, for the veterans at least, encourages them in the idea of possible world unity and the avoidance of war.

LUCIA B. MERRILIES
Montana State University
Missoula, Montana

Uses for Paper

Regarding your article in the November issue of UNW: One reason why the Russians can "get by" after a fashion with only 1/22 of U.S. paper production is because Soviet papers and magazines are mainly devoted to news and views, whereas ours (consider the enormous supplies of paper consumed by just a few—Life, Satevepost, Look, Collier's, etc.) devote most



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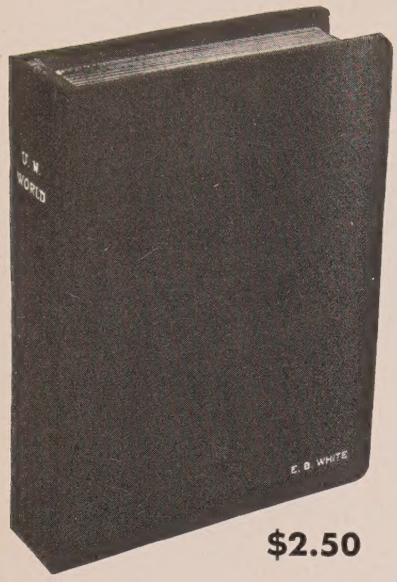

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Letters *continued*

of their space to advertising that serves no useful purpose.

The Russians will, no doubt, eventually get around to more toilet tissue, facial tissue and the thousand and one other uses of paper that make for better living. And they will have the forests to use, while we are denuding ours at a tremendous rate. The amount of paper wasted in the US is staggering.

ALANSON E. SESSIONS
San Luis Obispo, California

And the Russians will, no doubt, in time develop a multitude of other uses for paper as have other nations—while continuing to use it for advertising in posters, placards, pictures, etc.

More on Chile's Choice

I can't refrain from remarking on the curious letter by Carlos Reyes, Press Attache of the Chilean Embassy (UNW, January, 1949), in objecting to your article, "The Chilean Unwelcome" (UNW, September, 1948). It is simply incredible the extent to which the totalitarian spirit has permeated people's attitudes even in the most unexpected places. Mr. Reyes says: ". . . Chile seeks to prevent the entry of undesirable elements, which may not serve the purpose indicated, but without in so doing to encourage in any way a spirit of racial discrimination." . . . What mental acrobatics!

What does Mr. Reyes mean by "undesirable elements"? This condemning human beings in advance by lumping them together with some such specious label is but a convenient way of concealing hidden motives of prejudice and hatred . . . and ". . . Chile seeks ways to incorporate into her economy such human material (God save the mark!) as may be useful an easily assimilable. . . ."

The deep tragedy of our times is tha our ruling classes have lost faith in th democratic institutions to which they s loudly pay homage. . . .

MANUEL L. LOPEZ
Walla Walla, Washingto

Israel and Investments

I have read with interest Emil Schram article on foreign investments in your Jan uary issue.

While he mentions the Middle East as a area "which potentially affords a fertil field for US investment," he qualifies it b also listing the Middle East as an area i which "legislative obstructions tend to dis courage (investment) unduly." I believ that Israel should be excluded since ther are not any such obstructions to discour age foreign investment in that state.

Mr. Gideon Strauss, Israel Vice-Consu for Commercial Affairs, and the forme manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, re cently stated that "Israel will be happ to make available to American enterpris those payments in the form of profits an royalties which belong to it for stimulatin those industries."

I know that the Government of Israe is taking all steps to attract foreign capita and investments to the newborn state.

In spite of the war brought on by th aggression of surrounding Arab countries it has managed to achieve a balanced budget.

SEYMOUR B. LIEBMAN
Director, Zionist Organization of America Economic Commission
New York, N. Y.

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UN WORLD
THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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The Truman Pipeline to the Kremlin

IT EXPLAINS WHY HE MADE

That controversial 'off the cuff speech' in Kansas City

BY THE EDITORS

TODAY, six weeks after the conclusion of the Third Assembly's first part in Paris and 10 weeks before the opening of its second part in New York, lines of behavior have been set by the world's capitals which will determine global strategy for 1949.

WASHINGTON: Washington is still a-buzz with the unanswered question: "Whom if anyone did President Truman have in mind when, in his impromptu speech in Kansas City, he spoke of a possible split within the Politbureau?"

The refusal of the White House to elaborate on the Presidential remark is conceded to be part of a highly personalized nerve war Mr. Truman is waging against top Soviet leaders. The President tries to give the impression that he didn't really mean what he said and didn't really say what others now mean.

But the Kansas City remarks were by no means improvised. They were based partly on a particular Intelligence Report which he has come to value rather highly; and partly on a theory of his own.

The Truman theory represents a homespun but exceptionally shrewd analysis of Soviet's strength and weakness. The complicated brains of State Department professionals are not always capable of following Mr. Truman's simple theories. Their condescension that was so evident the morning after the Kansas City speech was merely a studied gesture to hide their confusion. The wisecrack that dubbed the Kansas City speech the "Eddie Jacobson Démarche" failed to amuse the President when he discovered it in Arthur Krock's column in the *New York Times*. The source did not know that *not all the President's foreign-affairs information reaches him through the State Department.*

In broad outline, Mr. Truman's current reasoning behind the Kansas City speech is as follows:

■ Though Premier Stalin continues as the king pin of the Politbureau, he is away from its regular Thursday afternoon sessions for protracted periods of time. He thereby reduces his actual influence if only by the geographic factor of distance. This, too, was in Mr. Truman's mind when he spoke of "Old Joe" in rather fondish terms, while pinning the responsibility for Soviet truculence on the rest of the Politbureau.

■ Stalin's protracted absence deprives the Politbureau of his mediating influence and allows long-standing differences to emerge in sharper focus.

■ According to the President's information there are at least two, and possibly three, opposing factions within the Politbureau.

■ One faction is for the continuation of all-out cold war. Members of this faction include Malenkov and Suslov who, the President is told (together with Saburov and Malyshev), have been quietly appointed to the Politbureau. This faction believes that the political consolidation of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and Asia is possible only in the chaotic atmosphere of a protracted cold war. They regard East-West rapprochement as distinctly detrimental to the growth of international Communism, which this group is inclined to put ahead of the national interests of the USSR.

■ The second faction consists of such conservative old-timers as Voroshilov and, indeed, Stalin himself, as well as specialists responsible for the economic well-being and progress of the vast Soviet commonwealth. Mikoyan, Andreyev, Kaganovich, Voznesenski, Politbureau technicians, strongly favor rapprochement since they have no respect for the revolutionary designs of the Malenkov-Suslov group. The Mikoyan group now goes so far as to saying that, unless some form of East-West rapprochement is brought about at an early date and the flow of Western goods is restored, the first post-war five-year plan will inevitably fail. They cite unfulfilled quotas, difficulties in retooling, delays in the completion

or rebuilding of hydro-electric plants, and other flaws in the Soviet industrial structure. They blame the political leadership and the cold war for their own technical difficulties.

■ Strategically situated between the two factions are other specialists, men like Beria, Bulganin, and even Molotov. They are inclined to follow Stalin's leadership without hesitation but are left adrift in the temporary absence of his leadership.

Mr. Truman has no illusions. He does not expect an explosion within the Politbureau that will rock the political structure of the USSR. He knows that Politbureau members are most carefully chosen for their basic allegiance to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, and unswerving loyalty to Stalin. Their determination to avoid the pitfalls of "individual action" is proven to Stalin's own satisfaction.

But Mr. Truman also knows that the relatively short period of time allowed for the discussion of international affairs during the Thursday afternoon sessions of the Politbureau is now taken up almost exclusively by vehement debates about merits and demerits of the cold war.

These debates are likely to continue unabated until Premier Stalin decides to resolve the argument. The decision as well as the timing of this decision will be entirely Stalin's—but Truman will not be caught by surprise. When the crucial decision is made, no American interests will be sacrificed in the process. There is one word in the dictionary that Mr. Truman abhors more than the word war. It is appeasement.

THE WORLD BREATHES A SIGH OF RELIEF

PARIS: Foreign Minister Robert Schumann has definitely informed an anxious French Cabinet that neither the US nor the USSR is ready or willing at this time to go to war.

Schumann based this firm view upon candid conversations with such top-ranking figures as Marshall of the US, Vyshinsky of the USSR, Evatt of Australia, Sweden's Unden, Norway's Lange, and intermediaries of the Polish Foreign Minister, Modzelewski, the Czech Foreign Minister Clementis, and above all, with Security Council Chairman Bramuglia of Argentina. The Argentine has had more dealings with Vyshinsky than any other Western diplomat in recent years.

Schumann's conclusion: *The world is facing an armed, uneasy stalemate of dangerously indefinite length which may bring war but which is not without promise that the opposing views of the two giant antagonists can somehow, sometime be reconciled.*

WASHINGTON: President Truman and the State Department discount war for 1949 provided:

■ That ERP aid continues to spark Western Europe's recovery.

■ That the Western Union and the Atlantic Defense Union become effective organizations.

■ That the Soviet advances in China are balanced by emergence of India as the leading nation of Asia.

■ That world public opinion swings more forcefully to the concept of collective security within the UN.

President Truman was impressed and his hope for peace raised by General Marshall's sanguine report on the mind-molding gains at the General Assembly. This report will have a continuing effect on Secretary Acheson's programs in the future.

MOSCOW: From the Politburo down to the lowest echelons in the Communist hierarchy, tension has eased and self-assurance has grown. The faces of Communist party functionaries express the new moods. Both were further evidenced in the cordiality of official Russian New Year's greetings to Western diplomats.

Behind this new high spirit are:

■ Vyshinsky's report that US war hysteria seems to be dying down.

■ The surging, sweeping, victorious Communist armies in China (see page 10).

■ The evidence that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Rumania all will remain loyal to Moscow—a reassurance that almost overcomes the sour taste of Yugoslavia's successful and continued defiance of the Cominform.

BUENOS AIRES: Juan Bramuglia, a UN hero abroad, is a suspect at home. In both cases the reason is the same: his dramatic performance in Paris as Chairman of the Security Council, notably his valiant attempt to solve the Berlin crisis.

It is little known that Bramuglia is a one-time Socialist who specialized in labor law on the side of the unions. As such he is regarded with no high affection by old-guard Peronistas. His sudden rise to world eminence as chief negotiator between the US and the USSR fortified the belief of his foes that he may revert to the philosophy of the Third Force, the middle way in political affairs.

Bramuglia has been well aware of his precarious position. His first speech in Paris was a dithyrambic ululation praising Peron. This speech killed Bramuglia's chances to be President of the General Assembly, but it was for him an unavoidable must. So was his insistence in interviews that his attempts to mediate were made on direct personal instructions from Peron.

The circumstances of his arrival home spelled out clearly for the initiate Bramuglia's status in Argentina. The press simply ignored his arrival. But President Peron himself greeted Bramuglia as he disembarked.

The explanation of this curious contradiction is, first, Peron silenced the press to warn Bramuglia that he should not grow too big for his boots, and to avoid building up a possible popular, rival hero in Argentina; second, Peron met Bramuglia on the pier because he feels the need of identifying himself and his regime with a world leader and headline maker. Peron, in accepting the ex-labor lawyer into his government, has caught a Tartar.

Bramuglia has told Peron that the Berlin crisis at several stages could have been resolved. He emphasized that spokesmen for all the major powers, by failing to seize the several opportunities to do so, showed themselves to be both shortsighted and stupid.

It is Bramuglia's own conviction that the Berlin problem can and will be solved and reasonably soon. Ironically, he, the catalytic agent, cannot make a move without getting Peron's approval first. To win that he has hinted that Peron would gain immensely in world prestige if Argentina, in the person of Bramuglia, resumes the role of key mediator.

Peron is debating with himself whether or not he should take over peacemaker's Bramuglia's function. The decision is difficult. In Peron's opinion, if he does intervene, he has to succeed. He has to do better than Bramuglia. He cannot afford to fail,

State of the World *continued*

for—if he does—he will not only risk losing prestige abroad, but he might be building up a rival at home.

BUDAPEST: Insiders expect a stiff prison term for the truculent anti-Communist, Cardinal Mindszenty—to be followed shortly by a deal with the Vatican.

Under the terms of the anticipated deal, Prince Primate Mindszenty will be allowed to leave Hungary and retire to Vatican City. Subsequently the Vatican will name the Archbishop of Eger to be Acting Prince Primate.

While there is admiration for the Primate's courage, it is conceded that his handling of a delicate situation was devoid of the diplomacy for which the Church is famous. This view, partly blaming the Cardinal, is held even by a majority within the Council of Hungarian Bishops.

Even when Mindszenty's appointment as Prince Primate was under consideration in 1945, the Holy Father was advised to choose someone else, since Mindszenty's impetuous righteousness was well known and expected to bring about an ill-timed showdown with the Communist State. But the advice proffered by influential Hungarian Bishops was not heeded, chiefly because of the influence with Vatican authorities of Hungarian Catholic expatriates, led by Baron Gábor de Apor.

With Mindszenty's arrest, the virulent conflict between Church and State in Hungary has reached its climax. After the trial the crisis is expected to subside. The Vatican desires a settlement and the Hungarian Government is fully aware of the danger to it in prolonging the acrimonious controversy in a State so Catholic.

The question of Hungary's ancient royal relics and jewels will be the central issue in the trial. The international intrigue which has involved the relics ever since their discovery by the American occupation forces in Austria will be featured, and the impression created that US authorities were as indiscreet in their handling of this controversial issue as was the Cardinal.

Whatever impression the trial will make on its international audience, it will impress Hungarian onlookers at least with the strangeness of a situation in which a Communist-dominated government appears as protector of Hungary's major national symbol and religious heritage—the crown of its first, and greatest, king, St. Stephen.

A UNW Cartoon by Derso

DAVID BEN GURION AND GOLIATH BEVIN

TOKYO: An incident that could have swiftly turned the cold war into the heat of battle was calmly hushed up by US and USSR generals. On various occasions Soviet planes apparently on reconnaissance patrol were discovered over US bases in Okinawa. When these violations persisted, the planes were fired on.

General Kuzma Derevyenko, chief Soviet delegate to MacArthur's GHQ, protested that these planes were on legitimate missions "protecting Soviet shipping in the area." However, MacArthur persuaded the Russian to file and forget his complaint.

The clandestine flights continue with time-table regularity over Okinawa where US ack-ack personnel now has standing orders to fire upon all "unidentified planes" as soon as they appear on their radar screens. But General MacArthur sees that no incident is allowed to flare forth from what has become a kind of air shuttle between the Kuriles and Okinawa.

This display of sangfroid and tolerance underscores the basic determination of the US and USSR to avoid war.

FONTAINEBLEAU: Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, Commander in Chief of the Western Union's mil-

itary forces, confidentially advised the Defense Ministries of the participating powers that without Spain, Western Europe's defenses will be untenable.

But his top secret memorandum on the subject doesn't augur well for the future of Generalissimo Franco. Lord Montgomery proposes that the Spanish dictator be removed at once to make way for the kind of government in Spain with which the Western democracies could conclude a military alliance without arousing the fierce protests of their peoples.

WASHINGTON: Not since the famous prediction of the War Department's intelligence experts that Russia would collapse within six weeks under the Nazi assault have G-2 oracles displayed such red faces in the Pentagon. The same experts in May, 1948, confidently predicted that the Jewish army of Palestine would be "pushed into the sea" within two weeks by the combined Arab League armies. The controversial Middle East policy of the US Department of Defense was based on this prediction —even after the two weeks had been prolonged into six months. As a result, in Washington nowadays one hears about the prominent American intelligence expert, who when asked to confirm an estimate of G-2, replied: "The misinformation on which this particular estimate is based is not at my disposal."

As an explanation for the recurrent blunders, insiders point to the internicine feud waged by the intelligence services of the Army, Navy and Air Force. They expect that the first head to fall in this inter-service warfare will be that of Adm. Thomas Inglis, Chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

On the other hand, Admiral Hillenkoetter, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, scored heavily in the field of political intelligence. First, he predicted Truman's re-election; second, he saved his chief from acute embarrassment when he scotched an Air Force intelligence forecast that Russia would momentarily invade Sweden. But perhaps the greatest coup of Admiral Hillenkoeter's political intelligence was his refusal to submit to Governor Dewey a copy of the top-secret intelligence summary which CIA prepares daily for the President and which was requested for the Republican candidate during the presidential campaign.

MOSCOW: Mrs. Golda Meyerson, Israel's first Minister to the USSR, finds that her diplomatic immunity is taken somewhat too literally by the secret police. Although Moscow's Embassy Row houses many diplomats more antagonistic to the Kremlin than Israel's brilliant woman envoy, none has a larger detail of MVD officers.

From the moment Mrs. Meyerson arrived in the capital, she found herself and her modest Legation surrounded day and night by a very attentive crowd of plain-clothes men.

When she went to Laurenti Beria to call his attention to this excessive protection, the chief of the Soviet Union's security services professed to know nothing about it and could consequently promise no help.

Recently Mrs. Meyerson decided to attend religious services at a Moscow synagogue. As she took her place in a pew she found that she was completely hemmed in by the same swarm of men, visibly novices in any place of worship.

When Mrs. Meyerson's presence in the synagogue became known, the congregation stormed the protective phalanx of the secret police in an effort to express their gladness at her arrival and to welcome her among them. The guards stood firm.

Only one young woman managed to reach Mrs. Meyerson. She knelt down and kissed her hand, but was promptly seized by MVD-men. Anxious to avoid further incidents, the Israeli envoy left the temple. The anonymous Russian woman was the only one of the 500,000 Moscow Jews with whom Mrs. Meyerson succeeded in establishing a fleeting contact.

Her curious experience coincides with new and stringent regulations forbidding Eastern European Jews to emigrate to Israel.

WASHINGTON: Secretary of State Dean Acheson will implement on the diplomatic front President Truman's vigorous pro-labor policies. The appointment of labor leaders to top diplomatic posts will be a reality before the year is out. Moreover, the new Secretary intends to make the most of the American labor movement's widespread international contacts with its counterparts abroad, as a medium for selling America's foreign policy aims, especially as expressed by the Marshall-Acheson Plan.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: The debate on these pages is presented, not to aggravate, but to clarify the cold war. The English, no matter how "socialistic" or "western" their views, are not principals in the cold-war debate and are, in consequence, ideally fitted to argue it objectively.

East

fears

accuses

condemns

West

BY JOHN PLATTS-MILLS

Lawyer and MP

WHY DO THE RUSSIANS use the veto? Do they really want UN to fail? Many people would have us think this. I do not agree. I firmly believe that the Soviet leaders really do want to see the United Nations succeed; that they ardently desire peace; that they are willing, and more than willing, to discuss, to negotiate, to make concessions and reach a compromise.

Let us see for a moment whether we can look at the position through Soviet eyes. Beset from 1917 by threatening forces whose hostility was undisguised, twice invaded and each time throwing off the invader only after suffering and sacrifices such as no other country in the world has ever faced, they were compelled to make use of the rivalries between the other Great Powers to frustrate a world anti-Soviet coalition.

How much of this hostility survived into the war? Enough has been disclosed by certain of the leading war figures to confirm the Russians in the belief that Lord Brabazon and Lord Margesson, as they respectively became, were sacrificed for murmuring in public, ideas which were not unknown in the privacy of the Cabinet. There is a contrast between Chamberlain's "phony war" against Germany and the way in which, in the winter of 1939-40, the decks were cleared for a real war against Russia. There are the questions of the timing and the placing of the Second Front.

Then we come to the UN period.

West

fears

accuses

condemns

East

BY VERNON BARTLETT

Journalist and MP

EVERY COMMITTEE of the United Nations Assembly had the same story to tell—vote after vote in which the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states formed the minute minority. And, although the minority is not necessarily always wrong, it is much less probable that it is always right.

In every respect except one these votes are extremely depressing. But one can find consolation in the fact that, despite the monotonous regularity of these snubs the Soviet Government is still a member of the United Nations. Nor do I believe that the Moscow Government maintains its membership merely because the Assembly provides the world's best and biggest platform for propaganda. I believe, that the Russians are anxious to see the United Nations grow in authority because their fear of the intentions of the Western Powers is deep and genuine.

But unfortunately that fear has not prevented them from following the policy most likely to destroy the organization they cherish. When the Charter was being drafted in San Francisco nobody outside the Soviet Union anticipated the use that would be made of the Veto by that country's spokesmen. They did not anticipate that the very first meetings of the Security Council in Church House, Westminster, in the early days of 1946 would be rendered horrible by the vehemence of Mr. Molotov's attacks against the other permanent

Britain was no longer the leading world Power. American strength, industrial, military and political, had greatly outstripped that of the Empire. On the other hand the Soviet Union, despite terrible losses, came out of the war stronger than ever, its peoples more united and its prestige in Asia and Europe enhanced beyond recognition. America had become the leading capitalist Power, bound to be hostile to the aspirations of the socialist Soviet Union.

The Russians must have asked themselves, "Where does Britain stand in all this?" For the answer they will have looked both to our professions of friendship and to our deeds.

What are these deeds? When Mr. Vyshinsky drew attention to the continued existence in Washington of the Anglo-American Joint Chiefs of Staff Planning Board he was only at the beginning of the catalogue. There is the Treaty of Brussels, negotiated outside the framework of the UN, setting up the permanent Military Committee of the west European nations. Are the Russians expected to think that this venture is just to provide a change of scene for Field Marshal Montgomery and his fellow service chiefs?

There is the proposed Atlantic Pact into which it is also hoped to bring Canada, Portugal, Norway, and if possible, Spain, Sweden and Denmark, to say nothing of semi-fascist Greece and feudal Turkey. Could the Russians believe that this is just a casual diplomatic exercise unrelated to military strategy?

We are standardizing our arms, our methods of training and our actual training. The American Armed Forces have the free run of our bases at home and abroad.

Together with 15 other nations we have yielded our industrial and commercial destinies into the keeping of an American Administrator. This is the Marshall Plan, likewise negotiated outside the framework of UN. It is accompanied by a wider strategy. The economics of Germany and Japan, both acting as American subsidiaries, are to be re-established; the first to dominate Europe, the latter to sweep the Pacific.

How are these deeds reflected in UN?

Having become so deeply committed to the Americans, the Powers concerned no longer act as independent forces. They have become part of a voting machine which is trying to isolate the Soviet Union.

The reaction of the Soviet Union is to defend itself. It applies the Veto to prevent what it conceives to be misuse of the apparatus. The spokesmen of the Western Powers turn even this "obstruction" to good account. They use it to try and morally justify the deeds from which it all began.

But the best propagandist cannot conceal the truth for ever. The Soviet Union is fighting in UN for the restoration of Great Power co-operation, for the preservation of the independence of the smaller powers. Mr. Vyshinsky and his colleagues are striving to make UN work. They are striving for peace.

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members, and by his use of the Veto when they turned to the counter-attack. And in those days there was no hint of that "ganging up" against the Soviet Government which its subsequent policy has made inevitable.

There may be critics of Mr. Bevin. But, under accusations as sensational as some of the statements made in the same hall during the Belcher tribunal inquiry, the Foreign Secretary's patience was admirable and memorable. Perhaps he hoped that the campaign would die down. It did not. It was continued and increased, until people all the world over have become resigned to the vile prospect of another world war.

The explanation for this strange and suicidal behaviour is, I believe, that the Russians are the victims of their own propaganda. They are now very definitely in the minority in the United Nations—not, as they suggest, because the other nations have become slaves of America, but because their own behaviour has driven these nations into closer partnership with the only other strong Great Power at the present time.

And so one has the odd and depressing spectacle of Mr. Vyshinsky, representing not only a great country but also a great international movement, taking a more rigidly nationalistic line than any of the governments he accuses of "imperialism" and all sorts of other selfish sins. Never, he tells us indignantly, will the Soviet Union allow United Nations agents to come snooping around on its territory. Never will it be bullied into accepting majority decisions (although, be it said in passing, nobody has used majority decisions more crushingly than he himself did last summer at the Belgrade conference on the future of the Danube).

This article is not intended to embitter relations. I have no desire to enter into polemics that leave each side more convinced of its own rightness. But here, it seems to me, are two undeniable facts.

One, there can be no United Nations agreement on armaments, atomic or otherwise, which does not include a system of free inspection in every signatory state. The Soviet spokesmen have refused to believe British or American statements on scores of occasions and on scores of subjects; they would no more believe our uncontrolled statements on our armaments than we would believe theirs. So it is impossible to take seriously their proposals for an all-round reduction in armaments until they agree to some genuine system of international inspection. They reject the system approved by the vast majority of states, and they put forward no system themselves.

The second fact is that no society can work, be it a parish council or the United Nations Assembly, unless the minority is prepared as a general rule to bow to the will of the majority. Rather than do that, the Soviet Government has now vetoed some 30 decisions of the majority in the Security Council. Only the Soviet Government could remove the heavy cloud that hangs over the United Nations.

THE DANGER IS THAT COMMUNISTS, BUOYED UP BY SUCCESS,

MIGHT OVERESTIMATE THEIR ACTUAL STRENGTH—

IT IS MATCHED BY THE POSSIBILITY

THAT TRIGGER-HAPPY WESTERNERS MAY TAKE PANICKY ACTION

A Red Sun Rises

It can mean blood on the moon

By Louis Dolivet

International Editor

THE MAIN historic trend, favorable to the Western powers throughout much of 1948, is now changing course. New political and military problems of heretofore unknown magnitude are arising. The influence of the East is waxing, that of the West is at a standstill. The shift involves both increased prospects for peace, as well as new real hazards to peace.

The hopes lie in the fact that the balance of forces between East and West is gradually equalizing and, consequently, prospects of finding a modus vivendi are better. Important political leaders and diplomats in both blocs believe that the atmosphere which prevailed at the General Assembly enforced greatly a mutual conviction—war is unthinkable now.

Both sides were warned by representatives of the smaller powers that popular anxiety over the endless quarrels between the USSR and the US was alienating potential friends and supporters and creating conditions which would have possibly disastrous effect on world economy.

The danger stems from the possibility that the Communists—after being blocked by the emergence (particularly in France and Italy) of "third force" coalition governments, by the Marshall Plan, by the Berlin airlift, by the growing hostility of Socialists and by the moral pressure of the majority in the UN—may overestimate their new strength.

Danger also stems from the fact that important military and political elements in the West may get panicky over the Soviet advances in China and try to involve their governments in action "before it is too late." However, the chances that such advice will be taken are slim. The dominant opinion is that the West will do best to rely on the inner strength of democracy and upon its economic and technical superiority to hold the balance for the time being—with the hope of winning ultimately the allegiance of people all over the world.

Three developments are behind the Eastern ebullience:

- The sweeping military and political advances of Communists in China.
- The rebirth of colonialism in its crudest forms.
- Divisions in the Western bloc.

In China, international communism sees the achievement of a basic goal of Soviet global strategy. The assumption that Asia is more nearly ripe for revolutionary changes and for communism than Europe is now receiving a triumphant confirmation. Despite the failures of communist policy in China in the middle '20's, with the rise of Chiang, now, only

PEOPLE AT WAR: CHINESE "PEOPLE'S MILITIAMEN" EXAMINE A SMALL, CRUDE CANNON AND LAND MINE

20 years later, victory is within reach.

Top-ranking leaders of communism, gathered in Bulgaria for the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, have reached the conclusion that their victories in China represent the purest type of triumph which Communists crave.

To world communism, the approaching victory in China represents an event surpassed in historic significance only by the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia. Its importance exceeds by far the establishment of Communist-controlled regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

In the latter countries communism followed in the wake of the advance of Soviet armies. In all but Yugoslavia and Albania, communism was established as a consequence of military conquest by the Soviet armies. In every case, however, local Communist resistance forces were important instruments of the liberation. Communist control grew out of coalition governments formed under extraordinary circumstances in the midst of the disorganized retreat of the Nazi and Fascist occupying forces.

In the former enemy countries—Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary—surrender to Soviet forces was immediately followed by establishment of governments acceptable to Russia.

SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNIST TRIUMPH IN CHINA

But in China communism is advancing toward victory without the intervention of Soviet armies (with the exception of parts of Manchuria). It is advancing as the exclusive result of the breakdown of the existing framework of bourgeois society and the formation of revolutionary mass movements of which the Communists have become the natural leaders.

The Communist leaders gathered at the Congress in the National Theater in Sofia excitedly welcomed developments in China. They repeated again and again—and loudest were those representing countries where communism is not doing too well—that, despite American help to Chiang, the Nationalist regime is crumbling. And they cited with satisfaction all the symptoms predicted by Communist theoreticians:

- Loss of popular support.
- Internal decomposition.
- Corruption.
- Terror in the camp of the government.
- Growing mass support and increased efficiency and organization in the camp of the revolutionists.

A disquieting factor—which Soviet leaders and their friends abroad realized very acutely but did not care to discuss openly—is the fact that China promises to be the first ma-

A Red Sun Rises *continued*

jor Communist triumph outside of Soviet-occupied territories since the Bolshevik Revolution.

The once-basic Marxian assumption—that communism would first, and almost automatically, appear in highly industrialized countries—having proved faulty, leaders of the world Soviet bloc faced enormous difficulties. These difficulties increased with the appearance of the democratic US as a leading factor in the world. They grew even greater as developing Socialist forces showed unbreachable hostility to Soviet bloc expansion.

THE SOVIET MORTGAGE ON COLONIAL LOYALTIES

The second development—the rebirth of colonialism—is extremely important. It provides world communism with new and strong weapons in the dependent areas of Asia and Africa —nearly 10 million square miles of the earth with more than 220 million inhabitants.

During the war the Allies, inspired by the US, seemed to accept the end of colonialism and imperialism. The statements of Franklin Roosevelt and Sumner Welles, stealing Soviet thunder, proclaimed the new era of freedom. And, since Welles was expected to become Secretary of State of the US in the postwar era, the proclamations were accepted at face value.

In consequence, the machinery of the old Communist International which dealt with the propagation of revolutionary ideas in colonial and dependent areas was considerably reduced. The very character of the liberation movement in which Communists had automatically played a leading part changed. The sympathies of considerable groups of workers and intellectuals were captured by the West and support important to communism was in danger of being lost. In this circumstance the Communist general staff switched its efforts almost entirely into propaganda and action against fascism, seeking to make anti-fascism the new characteristic of progressivism—and succeeding, particularly in those countries which had lived under Nazi-Fascist-Japanese occupation.

But the defeat of all but remnants of fascism presented a new problem for world communism in its effort to retain progressive support.

WHERE COMMUNISM OVERPLAYED ITS HAND

Previously, communism had assumed that power could best be gained through coalition and unity movements among progressive forces. This tactic called for united and peoples' fronts until the Communist forces became sufficiently strong to be able openly to assume leadership of government by themselves. But, with fascism defeated, this strategem grew less and less feasible. It failed to maintain Communists in the governments of Italy and France. At the same time world communism alienated progressive support by invalidating its identification of progressivism and anti-fascism in those areas where it no longer needed non-Communist support.

The elimination of all non-Communist elements from coalition governments in the Balkan countries and in Central Europe, and the persecution, arrest or exile of veteran anti-fascist fighters, cut the very ground out from under peoples' front movements fostered by Communists elsewhere.

The Communist doctrine found itself before one of those dangerous vacua which Lenin warned against as resulting in sectarianism. The danger inherent in lack of goal, so great less than a year ago has now been reduced.

France in Indo-China, Britain in the Middle East, Malaya, Burma, etc.; and the Dutch in Indonesia have brutally changed the whole picture. In each case efforts to gain cooperation through persuasion were abandoned. The old colonial machinery was re-established. The Colonial powers again resorted to direct military and police action. They restored to authority native agents and agencies discredited in the eyes of the local populations and entirely subservient to the administering power.

This retrogression on the part of the Colonial Powers has marvelously rejuvenated communism in the dependent areas, and given Communists great new hope elsewhere. At a moment when they had been deprived of their role as sole defenders against fascism, the Western powers restored

GENERAL. Chu Teh, former Kuomintang officer, is the Communists' top brass.

HEAD MAN. Mao Tze is both general and politician, his wife a former actress.

to them the more-effective role as harbingers of national freedom.

HOW THE WEST WEAKENS THE WEST

The third reason for communism's new strength is very important. It stems directly from the failure of the Western powers, despite all official proclamations, to reach over-all common economic and political decisions in concert. Many statesmen, political leaders and economists of Europe cite as a glaring example Great Britain's reconstruction program—in which England plays a lone hand uninfluenced by its effect on the rest of Europe. Aiming to achieve a new, vast, efficient industrialization and to conquer all lost world markets, England opposes devaluation of currencies and in general seems far from willing to fit herself into a genuine European Union of mutual traders.

Militarily, the division of the Western allies is worse. The only really European power, France, is excluded from the deliberations and from the entire planning which goes on in Washington almost as during the war between American and British top-ranking personnel.

An aggravating circumstance which especially lowered Western prestige in France came during the negotiations on the military co-operation of the five Western European countries, when an English general was appointed Commander-in-Chief over the five powers. The French cabinet had considerable difficulty in finding a high-ranking general who would agree to play second fiddle in the new military council. Gen. Alphonse Juin, famous for his victories in Italy, flatly said "no" to both the government and the President (UNW, November, 1948).

The crassest example of lack of unity in the West was the invasion of the Indonesian Republic by Holland. This invasion should have been no surprise to Great Britain, to the US and to France. They had had hints of it and had warned the Dutch with varying degrees of insistence against aggression. They learned about it, as did all newspaper readers, after the Dutch released reports of their action to the press.

But so completely surprised was he, the American representative to the Security Council had to fly in a special plane to Paris to make his protest. It was a significant act: America denouncing an important ally—a government whose co-operation is essential to both the European and Pacific strategy of the West.

(The only consolation for the West in this awkward affair was the surprised reaction of the Soviet Security Council representative who was four days distant from Paris. The American was on his way to Nice, the Briton and the French representatives had gone to their homes for a holiday. The Russian—no doubt more than anyone—was convinced that these allies of the Dutch would know what was going on.)

THE WEST'S ASSETS ON THE BALANCE SHEET

The new self-assurance of the Communists will evidence itself during the next few months in all parts of the Soviet and non-Soviet world in two ways: 1, stronger demands for recognition of the power of the Soviets; 2, greater readiness to discuss and effect both local and over-all settlements. To counter Communist progress and demands, the West will stand fast, relying for eventual equilibrium and peaceful coexistence of East and West on seven developments.

- Co-operation between non-Communist and Communist forces in united and popular fronts has disappeared in virtually every country of the world. (The possible sole exception is China where the Communists are so strong that politicians hoping to save something from the Kuomintang crash must beg for a coalition.)
- In all democratic countries where public opinion and the ballot are free, Communist parties are unable to achieve a majority. (The victory of the Communists in China is a military one, and it is being won against a regime which is not democratic.)
- The reconstruction of Western Europe, with Marshall Plan aid, is progressing satisfactorily.
- A North Atlantic Defense Union is in the making.
- The airlift has proved effective as a countermeasure to the blockade of Berlin by the Soviets.
- The industrial and economic situation of the US is constantly improving.
- The economic recovery of the USSR itself and of the other countries in the Soviet bloc is far from satisfactory.

The leaders of the West who take an objective view will see that communism is advancing only where there is misery and suffering. They will realize that even the most reactionary regimes do not constitute an effective barrier against communism. They will observe that imprisonment, torture or killing of Communist opponents, aside from being abhorrent to the democratic-minded, not only does not arrest communism but accelerates it. Few could have been more relentless in opposing communism than Chiang Kai-shek.

The observant will also note, on the other hand, that in all countries—and Western Europe is the best example—where the conditions of the people are improving, the advance of communism is arrested.

ANOTHER WAY OUT

The contest among the three great ideologies of our time—democratic capitalism and democratic socialism, both represented by the Western world, and communism, represented by the Soviet world—is above all economic and political.

The Eastern allies are employing primarily political weapons—even in China. Aside from promising bread, land, lower taxes, they cannot compete with the West in economic largesse. But so large are the areas where even one meal a day is not available, Russian weapons are winning victories.

The Western allies are employing successfuly such economic weapons as the Economic Co-operation Administration (Marshall Plan). They do not have, and sorely need, an over-all political democratic planning agency which would co-ordinate the various policies and avoid such disastrous surprises as the Dutch action in Indonesia. And avoids, too, prolonged backing of reactionary regimes which ultimately leads to disaster.

In both the Eastern and Western worlds, however, the shrewd observer will and must realize one paramount fact: that war would be the greatest disaster for both of them, and that the UN remains their only hope of co-operation and peace.

An intimate report and a personal analysis

By Pearl S. Buck

The Good People of Japan

They need not rice but food for the soul

HOW THE US MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS LOSING
ITS COLD BATTLE TO CAPTURE FOR DEMOCRACY
THE LOYALTY OF THE JAPANESE—
AND WHY THE COMMUNISTS ARE WINNING THEIRS

IN THE old days before the war a letter from Japan was rather unusual. When one came it was from a friend, someone I had known, in whose house perhaps I had visited. Such letters were kind, a little formal, full of good wishes and family news, and somewhere in the pages there were always a few paragraphs of philosophizing.

The atmosphere in which these letters were written pervaded the writing. It was a stable atmosphere, emanating from an old civilization in which everyone knew his place and kept to it, more or less happily. Occasionally I used to get a letter of revolt from some young woman who had been educated abroad and found life in Japan too narrow. Sometimes the young son of a family would write to inquire how he might escape from a father too strict.

During the war no letters came at all. There was a space and a silence.

Now the letters have begun again. They are very different indeed from the ones I used to get. I scarcely know this new Japan. From some hundreds of letters I piece out what I think it is. I measure my findings against news sent by the best American correspondents. I cannot check it well enough with the few people who come here now from Japan. When I ask them questions the conversation ends, strangely and abruptly, and my visitor says goodbye. I know the meaning of such refusal. I have seen it in Chinese friends, whose stay here depends upon their silence. I have seen it in Russians.

So I must piece out from my memories and my letters what it means to be a good Japanese today. I shall of course be very careful about the letters. I do not want anyone identified.

"We waged a foolish war against the world," a grave young teacher writes in excellent English. "Yet we do not feel that we have lost the right to speak of peace. It is we, the Japanese people, who understand better than any other what it means to live under tyranical militarism and its frantic toadyism. How often did we have our personalities ignored or tred upon by bureaucrats, military officers or even our fellow citizens! We have not yet learned enough about democracy. Though Japan now is full of disorder, confusion, evil and hate, I nonetheless hope she has a bright future. Oh, that I could do

something useful for that future!"

Another young man says, "My earnest desire is to get into correspondence with American gentlemen and ladies, in the hoping that thus I can really learn what is democracy. Our living is filled with difficulties, not only in economic problems but especially in thought. I am afraid that communism will check the development of democracy.

"I cannot deny that the difficulty of our life is the cause of our present crime and immorality. You remember that Confucius said, 'Only when people are able to support themselves can they learn what courtesy is.' I second this opinion. I hope that the difficulty of our lives will soon be removed so that we can revive virture."

"I cannot marry," says another young man. "My salary is only about 13 US dollars a month, that I can't live on myself. There is no doubt some irrational management. I observe the present and future world in the experience of the present and past of my living and I am inclined to hate more and more Japanese capitalism.

"I am not communist. but how can I avoid some sympathy with them? I think that American democracy based on capitalism can exist only in the abundance of American resources which we can never have. Can we create a peaceful and happy world in which loving neighbors is possible? Can we create a friendly word? Can we create one world government? I am obsessed these questions. Please if you may find some Americans who can answer me this."

"I am only laborer," another letter says. "Now we see the American way of thinking about Soviet Russia. I am afraid this result will happen Third World War. I suppose this is because no understanding is mutual between. How can we take off war from this world?"

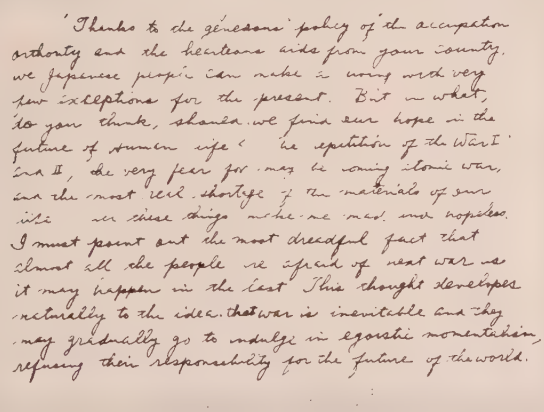
"I am just countryside man, but I am thinking," another man writes. "With all our war guilt, which we fully know, if we are intelligent, I think still that the people of defeated countries should be treated yet as people just the same as those in victor countries. Otherwise how can we see what we have is better than before? It is necessary to experience good before rejecting evil. How do American people themselves feel about this? Here we don't know how American people feel about anything, and we long to communicate."

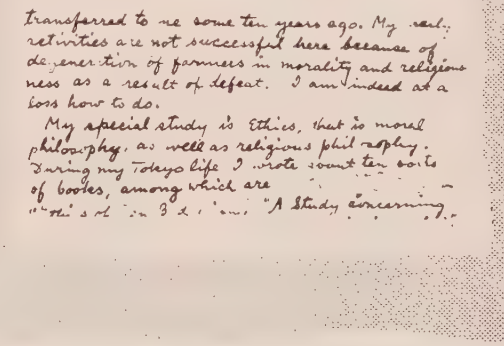
A 17 year old boy writes, "War is over and this is peace. We procured democracy in every side. But many danger has come in postwar Japan and peoples temper become savage for their poverty, and virtue and courtesy are just flying away from their hearts. According to newspaper, communism is invading China and other countries in the Orient. I hope for some stability somewhere. Strong conviction is necessary for preventing communism and such bad society. I wish very much that correspondence of life, current question and science can be growing between me and some Americans."

A struggling practitioner of the new democracy writes, "I am a clerk engaging in the Community Chest in Japan. I have hard time of performing it in our country in the stubborn and egoistic habit."

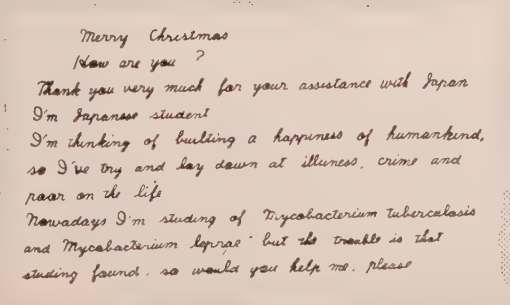
The principal of a school writes, "Japan is turning from a feudal system to Democratic system day by day, but still many people can't un-

EXCERPTS FROM FOUR OF HUNDREDS OF LETTERS JAPANESE HAVE WRITTEN TO THE AUTHOR RECENTLY


'Thanks to the generous policy of the occupation authority and the kindness aids from your country, we Japanese people can make a living with very few exceptions for the present. But in what, do you think, shaded we find our hope in the future of human life? The repetition of the War I and II, the very fear for may be coming atomic war, and the most real shortage of the materials of our life in these things make me mad and hopeless. I must point out the most dreadful fact that almost all the people are afraid of next war as it may happen in the East. This thought developes naturally to the idea that war is inevitable and they may gradually go to indulge in egoistic momentalism, refusing their responsibility for the future of the world.


transferred to me some ten years ago. My cultural activities are not successful here because of degeneration of farmers in morality and religious-ness as a result of defeat. I am indeed at a loss how to do.

My special study is Ethics, that is moral philosophy, as well as religious philosophy. During my Tokyo life I wrote some ten books of books, among which are "[illegible]" in 3 v., and "A Study Concerning [illegible]".


Merry Christmas

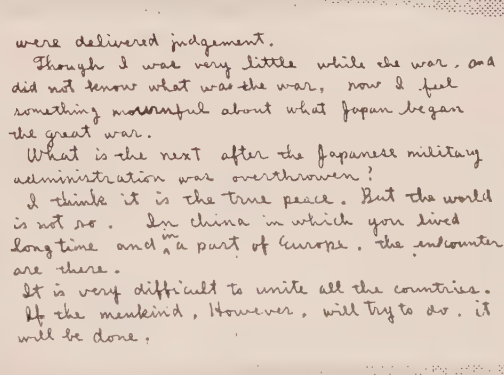
How are you ?

Thank you very much for your assistance with Japan

I'm Japanese student

I'm thinking of building a happiness of humankind, so I've try and lay down at illness, crime and poor on the life

Nowadays I'm studing of Mycobacterium tuberculosis and Mycobacterium leprae but the trouble is that studing found. so would you help me. please


were delivered judgement.

Though I was very little while the war, and did not know what was the war, now I feel something sorrowful about what Japan began the great war.

What is the next after the Japanese military administration was overthrowen?

I think it is the true peace. But the world is not so. In china in which you lived long time and in a part of Europe, the encounter are there.

It is very difficult to unite all the countries. If the mankind, However, will try to do, it will be done.

The Good People of Japan *continued*

derstand the exact idea of the western system."

An honest gentleman writes, "I wish very much to understand everything we now should. General MacArthur gave an Instructive in the statement of full one year after occupation of Japan, in which it was expressed that let Japanese subject to give contribution for the world, but I could not understand the trustworthy interpretation of General's Instructive, but I feeled the debt of anyhow, and regretting that I not know General's important point. *Japanese people must have something to do for world* instead of the Sin which Japanese had confused the world.

"I write this today just as ex-General Tojo and other stuffs are about to find by-and-by. Please ask other Americans to give us an Instructive for peace of the world."

A wise and delicately written letter from a woman school teacher, no longer young, asks, "Could you be so kind as to suggest me some book or books suitable for boys and girls under fifteen years of age? I wish to translate them for use in the schools, since my own school was destroyed in the last air raid.

"Now the students of Japan as you well know have long been instructed and trained under the strict rule of the Imperial Rescript on Education which forced them to be faithful to it and sacrifice their life for the country, but this only support of their aim of life was taken away from them with constitutional regime at the end of war without any substitute to support their soul.

"And most of their parents and instructors were not accustomed to Christianity nor have they yet thoroughly understood the meaning of such words as freedom, democracy or personal right, so that there is daily increasing the number of the young leaving their homes and schools to lead vagabond life, and calling it 'Freedom,' in spite of the severe police control. Most of them are living on theft, robbery or swindling under instigation of some groups of gangs. Many deplorable examples of late you must have surely read in your American papers.

"I am very much anxious to bring those stray ones to their proper life and retard those still in school from going astray. Please find me some really worthy books to translate into easy Japanese to make them read. I am so much obliged."

I have chosen these letters from among some hundreds that have poured into my small office recently. They are not different from the others. I choose them just to give a sample of the profound anxiety which the good people of Japan are feeling today. They do not complain—they are just anxious. What are their anxieties? Not primarily because they are hungry and cold, not because there is confusion and disorder, not because there is more strict thought control now than was ever known in the old days of their own militarists—they are anxious because they see the disintegration of the character of the Japanese people.

Today hunger in Japan is linked to thought control. In common with our worldwide policy of helping only those who agree with us, the controlling power in Japan, for example, denies food to areas where strikes are threatened. There is no freedom of thought either for individuals or for the press.

A Japanese who lives in the United States wrote an article for one of the great newspapers of Japan describing his everyday life here, in innocuous though not always complimentary terms, and sent it to Japan by hand. The editor of the paper returned it, saying that he did not dare publish anything uncomplimentary to Americans. He asked that the article be rewritten to make it entirely favorable to the United States and that it be sent through the mails, so that it would be subject to American censorship.

It is no wonder that there is anxiety among the good people in Japan. The country is being made ready to accept communism, and we are committed to a policy of force risking final defeat, for the hearts of the people are being turned against us. Force breeds hatred and hatred defeats even militarism.

These appeals from Japan are not for food, and it is to the honor of the good people there that it is so, for American food today is the only margin the Japanese have between starvation and existence. Thirteen per cent of their food comes from us. They are grateful, but they want something more. They want something to support their faith, to feed their souls. This may seem absurd to Americans, but it is true that in Japan, as in some other countries, it has long been understood that man does not live by bread alone.

It is well for Americans to realize this, if they can, as they prepare for the next big war scare, designed to introduce the demands of our armed forces for a vast increase in funds for war and for a renewal of the demand for universal military training. The devastating failure of militarists to establish democracy wherever they have governed since the last war ended ought to teach the world something. Military structure is so inherently undemocratic that no militarist ought ever to be put into control of any people.

Meanwhile what of Japan? Today there are ten million people in Japan who are displaced in their own country. Most of these are disbanded soldiers, who can find no place in their society. The rest of them are Japanese repatriated from various parts of the Orient, more than a million from China alone. These are jobless people, unwanted people, people without homes, the young men ready for communism—or ready to go into the American made army, in order to get food and a place.

Will this new Japanese army, made up of the same men as the old one, be loyal soldiers of democracy? Why should they be? Democracy has done nothing for them. They will be loyal to whoever gives them food and shelter and the easiest life. No trust can be put in them. If they fight for Japan, it will not be for MacArthur's Japan. It will be for some other and as yet unknown Japan.

The directives for Democracy in Japan are being reversed. There is now little hope that the American Army of Occupation will leave Japan for a long time, although British forces have almost entirely withdrawn. China, the Soviet Union and the Philippines, all of whom once wanted to take part in Japanese occupation, have never sent a regiment. The United States emerges as the sole ruler of a Japan rapidly being prepared for another war in which again the people have no voice.

No wonder the good people of Japan are anxious!

LOCKED OUT OF LABORATORIES EAST AND WEST

SCANDINAVIAN ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

PLAN A UNION OF MEN AND PILES AND CYCLOTRONS

Working to promote the well-being of crops and men

Europe's Gentle Atom

Scandinavian Scoop No. 3

BY LADISLAS FARAGO
UNW's Senior Editor

PROTESTING with controlled bitterness against the secrecy which surrounds nuclear physics today, a key figure in Norway's atomic research project told me in his laboratory at Kjeller, near Oslo: "There is not just one curtain to the East. Another to the West cuts us off from the United States. And both curtains are made of lead."

The Soviet curtain is taken for granted—but the American curtain puzzles and irritates the European scientist.

"It is stupid and unfair," he said. "It is stupid because it throttles international research, the results of which might benefit the American atomic effort as well. It is unfair because America's atomic leadership was assured by the whole-hearted cooperation of European scientists. They are now, like the biblical Lazarus, refused even morsels at the rich table of America's atomic feast."

Another Norwegian nuclear physicist complained: "The US Atomic Energy Commission treats us with a combination of high hat and cold shoulder. What is worse, the individual US atomic scientist is now afraid to have anything to do with us. The man in Oak Ridge has something frightful in common with the man of Atomgrad. It is fear!"

The list of accumulated grievances is a long one. Its items range from the flat refusal of the US Navy to allow Dr. Gunnar Randers of the Norwegian Atomic Energy Commission to attend the Bikini tests, to the failure of a prominent Chicago physicist to answer the private letters of a friend in Denmark. The ironclad US embargo on the export of scientific instruments is bitterly resented, as is the "authoritaran censorship" which, it is charged, an Anglo-American board tries to impose on the writings of European scholars.

In them, the United States is the villain—a nuclear Svengali to Britain's mesmerized Trilby. In fact, Britain is far more open in its relations with European atomic scientists than is the United States. Even while I was in Sweden, a number of Swedish scientists enjoyed the hospitality of British atom authorities. They were allowed to roam freely at Harwell, center of Britain's atomic research. "But none of us," one pointed out, "was ever allowed even to go near Oak Ridge."

"The atomic lead curtain of the United States," another added, "cannot be defended or justified, whether on grounds of political considerations or military security. Much of it is actually harmful to the best interests of the United States. Take the case of the uranium, for instance. It is a typical example of cutting off your nose to spite your face."

The so-called "Case of the Uranium" recurred in several conversations with Scandinavian scientists. Briefly, it is this: Norway, lacking the crucial raw material for its mod-

Europe's Gentle Atom *continued*

est atomic research program, asked the United States to supply some five tons of pitchblende—a small quantity of this very heavy ore from which only an insignificant amount of uranium could have been refined. Washington turned down the application—and promptly. "We believe the Administration was apprehensive of a possible scandal in Congress had it become known that five tons of pitchblende was delivered to what some Congressman or commentator would have undoubtedly called 'the threshold of Russia'," I was told in Oslo.

"But by refusing the pittance we needed, Washington compelled us to look for uranium right here in Norway. Is that what America really wanted? Don't you think that those Russians might be far more interested in the thousands of tons of pitchblende we uncover here in Norway than in a stockpile of five measly tons—certainly not worth the bones of a single Red Army grenadier?"

Pressed by the American refusal and their urgent needs, the Norwegians did some reluctant prospecting in their own mineralogical backyard. They have not advertised this find, but about a year ago a taciturn communique of the Norwegian Foreign Office announced that "uranium deposits are being mapped out by the Royal Geological Survey in cooperation with the Research Institute of the Armed Forces." The communique added cagily: "There has been some drilling and a small mine has been started."

How much uranium the Norwegians found is a matter no one would discuss. The location of the "small mine," too, is glossed over even in the frankest conversation. But it is no secret that a form of pitchblende, locally called "brögger-ite" or "cleveite," was found in the pegmatite veins of Southern Norway. It is being mined in the quarries of Arendal and Moss.

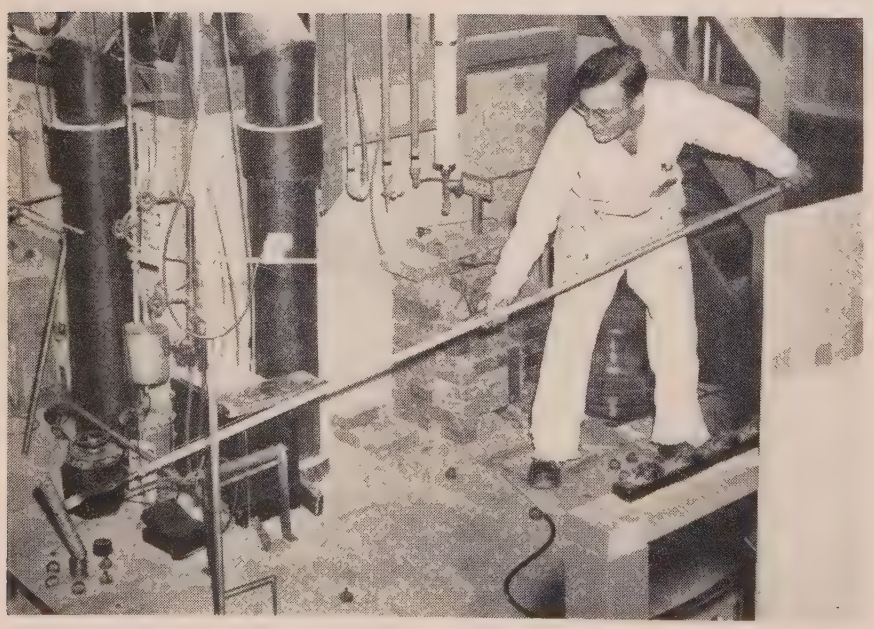
Aside from this, the Norwegians seem not to be disposed to make a fetish of their atomic "secrets." In an unprecedented gesture of divulgence, the Oslo authorities cheerfully threw open to me virtually all phases of their atomic energy program. I was allowed to inspect the Norwegian "Oak Ridge" at Kjeller near Oslo, and was freely invited to Ryukan, where heavy water is mass produced. Dr. Gunnar Randers, youthful chief of Norway's whole atomic research program, told me, in amazing and refreshing detail, nearly all that Norway is doing in this delicate field.

I later had an equally gratifying experience in Sweden when I visited the newly formed Atomic Energy Commission; Professor K. Manne Siegbahn's vastly expanded laboratories in Frescati; as well as the cubbyhole in which Dr. Lise Meitner, co-discoverer of nuclear fission, now conducts her pure research in spinsterly seclusion.

This is what I found on this unique inspection trip:

THE DIFFERENCE IS $594.000.000

AT LEFT, Dr. K. Manne Siegbahn, dean of Swedish atomic scientists, is shown beside his country's proudest gadget, a 400-ton cyclotron. Sweden spends only $6,000,000 a year on atoms. The US, spending $600,000,000, can provide for even run-of-the-mill nuclear mechanics many times the wealth hinted at in the photograph below. Here Paul Schallert, working gingerly with long tongs, introduces radioactive material into a concrete-walled automatic refinery.



1. Military Research

No A-bomb is in production either in Norway or in Sweden, neither do Scandinavians apparently plan to manufacture bombs. The task, Dr. Kai Siegbahn, son of K. Manne Siegbahn, pointed out to me, is patently beyond a small country.

However, an important atomic invention of a military nature is said to have been made by the scientific staff of Sweden's *Försvarets Forskningsanstalt* (National Defense Research Institute), one of the three advanced research organizations maintained by the Defense Ministry. A young physicist named Einar Ekelund, described as "the Swedish Robert Oppenheimer," is credited with this innovation said to introduce a new principle into atomic warfare.

Usual military secrecy veils the exact character of Ekelund's invention, but it is said to be of the greatest significance, both from an offensive and a defensive point of view. According to the best available information, it is not a weapon in the conventional sense of the word. It is rather a device aiding in self-propulsion of planes and/or ships. It is said to be especially important for the current development of long-range guided missiles. There are in Sweden, even in well-informed scientific circles, contradictory rumors about Dr. Ekelund's invention—but beyond the actual existence of this important discovery, I can only hint at its implications.

Otherwise, military research centers around the problems of defense, since the whole of Scandinavia fretfully expects to be a primary target in any possible atomic war (see article by Gen. Helge V. Jung, UNW January). The authorities seem convinced that improved defenses are bound to reduce the overall effectiveness of the A-bomb, diminish the offensive value of radioactive weapons, and thereby reduce the great powers' reliance on the atom as a decisive implement of war. Scandinavian scientists appear confident that there is a defensive answer to the offensive application of atomic energy. They hope to make a vital contribution in this field.

2. Industrial Uses

Though strongly socialistic themselves, the Scandinavian states share non-military atomic projects with private enterprise, allowing the latter full participation in initiative, investment and control.

The structure of Sweden's atomic organization is typical of this Scandinavia-wide practice. At the apex of this organizational heirarchy is the Atomic Energy Commission. Headed by Malte Jacobsson, Socialist Governor of Göteborg, its membership includes scientists, businessmen, industrialists, financiers and government representatives—*on an equal footing.*

Its commercial subsidiary, the Atomic Energy Corporation, has been jointly organized by government and industry on a 50-50 basis. Its strictly functional plans include the building and operation of a number of reactors (piles) to produce energy and radio-active materials for commercial, medical, biological and agricultural purposes.

In Norway, too, the Institute for Atomic Energy Studies is maintained and controlled on a 50-50 basis by the state and Norsk Hydro, the Norwegian Hydro-Electric Corporation, a private firm which is the world's largest producer of heavy water.

3. Atomic Piles

Both Sweden and Norway are building atomic piles for the controlled release of atomic energy. At the Kjeller Research Center, Dr. Randers showed me the completed foundation of Pile Number One. If everything goes according to plan, the pile will be operational within the year. It will be the second known atomic pile outside the Anglo-Saxon world.

The Norwegian pile, like France's ZOE-1 at Chantillon, will utilize heavy water instead of graphite, another atomic raw material on which the United States retains a highly resented world-wide monopoly by means of preclusive buying. Thought to be more powerful than ZOE-1, it will not approach Canada's huge heavy water pile at Chalk River, which can produce plutonium, the alternative to U-235 as a bomb charge.

Number One will, however, be adequate to provide an unlimited amount of radioactive materials for biological and medical use and other research purposes. Norway is vitally interested in developing an atomic plant for the propulsion of merchant vessels, lacking as she does coal and oil as well as the dollars with which to buy them. Aside from the crucial field of atomic propulsion, Dr. Randers told me, Norway is not much interested in energy production. "Even now," he said, "only one-third of our water-power potential is harnessed and utilized. We won't be needing additional energy for a long time."

In Sweden, too, the atomic piles which the AEC is planning to complete by 1950-51, will serve rather limited purposes before they can be turned into the all-purpose power plants for the production of energy. According to Dr. Kai Siegbahn, there is no particular incentive anywhere in Sweden to push the development of atomic power plants. "Even if all energy were produced by piles, the living standards of mankind would hardly be raised," he commented. "After all, power costs account for only 1 per cent in the production of essential commodities."

4. Laboratory Work

Pending the completion of its first atomic pile, Sweden depends on a battery of three cyclotrons, all of them built since 1942. To the first rather primitive 17-ton cyclotron of Prof. Siegbahn's Nobel Institute laboratory, there has been recently added a 400-ton monster, proudly shown off to me during my visit to the Institute.

About the same size and capacity is the $2,000,000 Werner cyclotron of Professor Th. Svedberg's laboratory at Upsala. A huge "atom smashing machine" is nearing completion at Frescati, with a fourth cyclotron planned. The whole impressive program is financed entirely by private donors.

In Norway, the building of a high-voltage impulse generator is well advanced in the significantly named Chr. Michelsens Institute of Science and Intellectual Freedom, at Bergen. While Norway, for the time being, has no intention of building cyclotrons of its own, a betatron is being built at Bergen and will eventually be developed into a synchrotron. Heavy water research continues to be centered at Trondheim Institute of Technology where the late, heroic Professor Leiv Trondstad pioneered with its application.

5. Raw Material

Of the three basic raw materials of atomics—uranium, graphite and heavy water—Scandinavia has only the last in abundance; it also has some uranium. Of graphite, which Americans employ in preference to heavy water as the "slow-down" agent in piles, Scandinavia has none whatsoever.

Uranium ore is quite common in Sweden, but it is of relatively low quality. However, heavy water piles can work rather efficiently with the uranium oxide which is available. Even so, the solution of the raw material problem has the highest pri-

Europe's Gentle Atom *continued*

ority in the Scandinavian atomic effort. The primary objective of the Swedish Atomic Energy Corporation is, in the words of Governor Jacobsson, "the search for additional uranium deposits in Sweden."

Heavy water, the atomic raw material which increased Norway's strategic importance to both the Allies and the Germans during the recent war, is produced in substantial quantities at the Ryukan plant of Norsk Hydro, the great chemical manufacturing center. The plant has a dramatic wartime history and is now regarded throughout Norway as a shrine rather than a sober industrial establishment. It was blown up several times by Norwegian patriots to prevent the Nazis from obtaining its crucial raw material for their own atomic energy projects.

The French acquired the heavy water needed for ZOE-1 from Norsk Hydro which will continue to sell it to all bona fide buyers. "Non-Russian Europe is generally disinterested in the explosive type of energy release," I was told in Oslo. "We regard the bomb as a by-product rather than the main objective of atomic energy research. Therefore we see no reason to throttle the sale of heavy water as long as we are satisfied that it will serve only the gentle purposes of peace."

6. Scientific Personnel

Scandinavia has a "raw material" vastly more useful under the circumstances than either uranium or heavy water—its galaxy of superb nuclear physicists, physical chemists, and atomic scientists. They include Niels Bohr of Denmark; K. Manne Siegbahn, Th. Svedberg, Lise Meitner, Einar Ekelund, H. Atterling, G. Lindstroem, and K. Siegbahn of Sweden; G. Randers, H. Mueller, Helmer and Odd Dahl, and many others of Norway.

Dr. Bohr, who worked throughout the war in the US aiding importantly in the so-called "Manhattan Project," and Dr. Meitner are titans in the field of nuclear physics. Equated with them in Scandinavia are the two great Swedes, K. Manne Siegbahn and Svedberg. I am assured, and not alone in Europe, that many of the Big Four's younger co-workers may soon win comparable scientific fame.

7. Atomic Budgets

The total Swedish and Norwegian appropriations for atomic energy research is less than $10,000,000 during the current fiscal year. (The US is spending $600,000,000 a year on its atomic effort.) Norway's atomic budget amounts to about $4,000,000 out of which its scientists are expected to defray the costs of operating uranium mines, maintain all central research facilities, build the pile, and prepare the necessary raw material. The bulk of Swedish appropriations is spent in the expansion of laboratory equipment and extended prospecting for uranium.

It is in the budgetary field that Scandinavia's atomic scientists come up against their gravest handicap. No matter how they try to stretch it, and even at the comparatively higher purchasing value of their currencies, they can afford no luxuries. The dollar shortage prevents their buying even vitally needed scientific instruments abroad and, in the words of Dr. Randers, "some one in the States seemed to have stopped the flow of scientific gifts to our laboratories."

So the accent is on quality in research, rather than on quantity; more and better results for less money. Even so, Scandinavia manages to occupy a relatively very high place and is actually in the lead in the small nation category.

From a long-range point of view, the outlook is, in fact, quite bright. National barriers and jealousies have little real meaning in Scandinavia. There is banter and competition among the peoples, but the nations of Scandinavia are joined in a fraternal covenant which, though unwritten, ties the three countries closely together.

Even today, there is intimate cooperation between the individual members of this Scandinavian family of nations in all matters of atomic research and development. By 1950-51, a Scandinavian Atomic Union—a scientific federation actually envisaged—will be established as a powerful outpost of pure and applied research.

The Union's greatest potential strength will lie in the fertile imagination, the determined industry and the brilliant ingenuity of the scientists of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. But it will be powerful even in material means—with several atomic piles and pilot plants in full operation, with at least 5 cyclotrons, 2 betatrons, and 3 high-voltage impulse generators in laboratories from Bergen in the west to Kiruma in Sweden's far north and from Copenhagen in the south to Boden in the east. When completed—and there seems no doubt that it will be completed within the next crucial five years—Scandinavia will have an atomic plant greater than any outside the US—and, possibly, Russia.

Herein, and in the peace-loving devotion to democracy innate in Scandinavia, lies the guarantee of a great atomic future from a long-range, constructive point of view.

Glossary of atomic machines

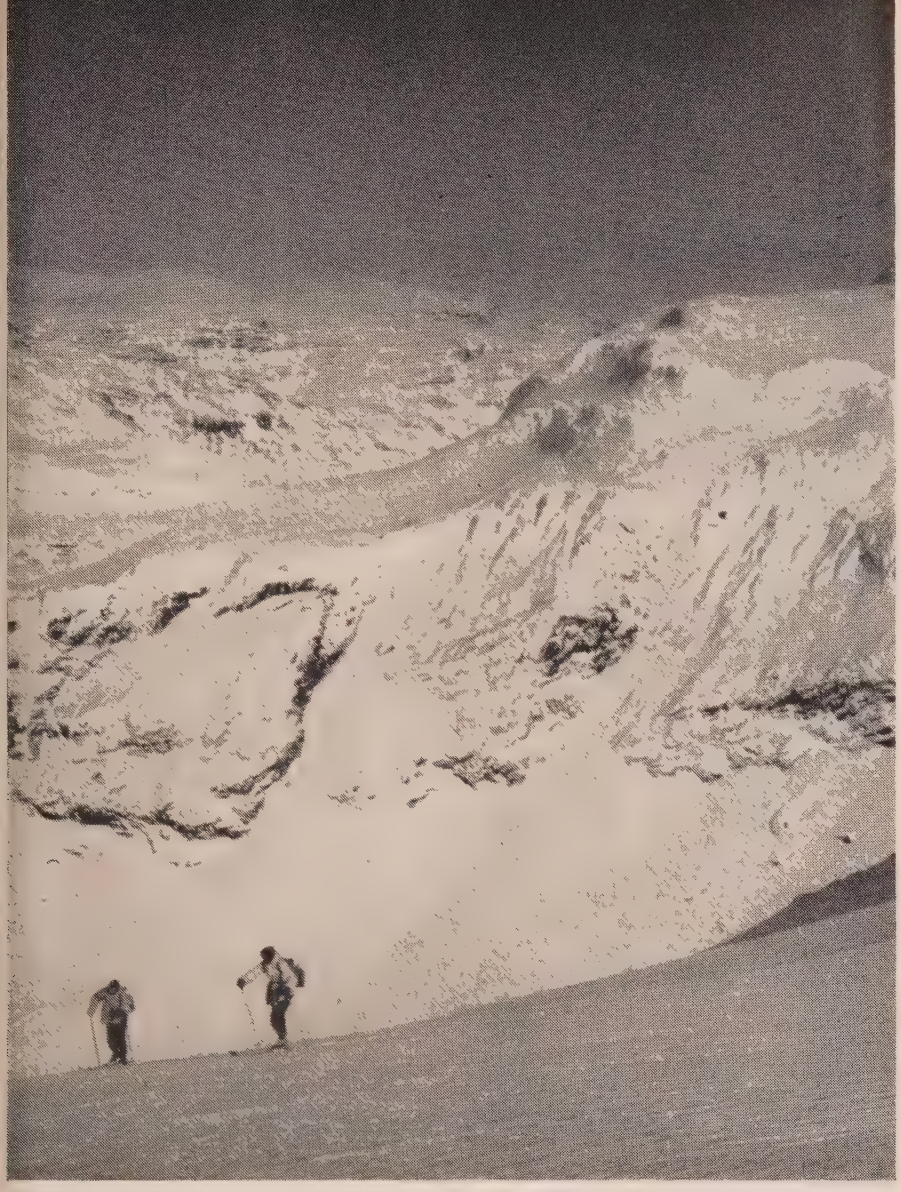
PILE—The name given to the structure housing an atomic chain reaction, as well as to the concrete core of the structure within which the chain reaction takes place. In the fission chamber, lumps of radioactive uranium separated by bricks of graphite or separately immersed in heavy water bombard each other with neutrons and slowly disintegrate. (In a bomb disintegration is instantaneous.)

CYCLOTRON—Research apparatus which changes nuclear structures by bombarding elements with high-energy positive particles. Some atoms absorb the particle into their nucleus; others may be broken up by the proton bullet into other elements.

BETATRON—Research apparatus similar to cyclotron in which high speed electrons are employed as bullets.

SYNCHROTRON—Accelerator for producing very highly energized nuclear particles. Similar to Betatron.

HIGH VOLTAGE GENERATOR—Research apparatus for smashing atoms, the most familiar type of which is an "artificial lightning machine."



LAPLAND is not all flat tundra. Much of its terrain is mountainous like this.

HOW ONE PHYSICIAN HAS MADE CHILDBIRTH SAFER, TB RARE, WOUNDS LESS FATAL

Among the reindeer nomads of wild Lapland

Death Doesn't Wear Skis

BY RALPH WALLACE

IN SWEDEN'S wild Arctic Lapland a bleak region of impenetrable forests and howling storms, one of the world's most amazing doctors recently knelt by a stricken patient to wrestle with death.

The day before, a frantic Lapp had staggered to an outpost telephone with word his wife was having difficulty bearing her first child. For 18 hours the doctor had skied through 40-below-zero cold to the tepee-like hut where the Lapp woman lay in labor. In a short time the child was delivered and the woman's life was saved.

The name of this remarkable physician—the embodiment of self-sacrifice and healing skill—is Einar Wallquist of Arjeplog, Sweden. His territory is bigger than Connecticut. Wide rivers sprawl across the awesome landscape, narrowing in canyons to murderous cataracts; ice-covered mountains roll in granite waves to the lonely Norwegian frontier. When weather permits, the doctor flies to emergency cases in a ski- or pontoon-equipped hospital plane; if the weather is bad, which is often, he reaches his patients on foot or by boat.

Dr. Wallquist himself lends a paradoxical touch to his forbidding northland. Diminutive but debonair—he is no more than five feet tall and weighs a scant hundred pounds—he possesses whipcord strength. He has a puckish face, and although he's now 52, his hair is as black as when he was 20.

Hundreds of men and women the world over owe their lives to this intrepid physician. During World War II he saved from Nazi slave gangs more than 5000 refugees who fled from Norway through wilds and weather at which even seasoned explorers would shudder. Half-dead, they trickled in to his frontier hospital: American fliers from downed planes, English, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, French, Russians, Australians, Africans, Poles and Dutch. Their stories read like the darker pages of some present-day Dostoyevsky—except at the end the little doctor appeared, to bring healing and new life. For 25 years he has been giving precisely that to his 4800 regular patients, dotted over a countryside as lonely as the back of the moon.

LAPPS AT WORK. Father and son (their faces show a trace of Swedish blood) catch a deer from the herd. The reindeer, ghostly in winter coat, was lassoed with a wide loop.

Death Doesn't Wear Skis *continued*

THE EASY LIFE. This scene, with barns, tree-clad hills and belled reindeer, identifies the region as southern Lapland. Even so, it's no place for a cozy medical practice.

Dr. Wallquist spent his youth a the little town of Langed, in souther Sweden. His father, a wealthy pape manufacturer, provided for his chi dren a luxurious existence with larg staffs of tutors and servants.

The elder Wallquist wanted youn Einar to become a wood pulp eng neer. But Einar rebelled; he *must* b a physician. Completing a ten-yea medical course in eight years at th University of Upsala, he won aca demic honors — and dissatisfaction Amply supplied with money, Eina brooded through his internship wit a steadily decreasing desire for empt success as a fashionable doctor.

Then, far to the north, traged struck—and with it came young Wall quist's chance. In the early 1920's th terrible influenza virus of Worl War I, apparently carried northwar by itinerant reindeer traders, swep through Swedish Lapland with th speed and terror of a forest fire. I the whole vast region around the lit tle town of Arjeplog, 115 miles fron the nearest railroad, there was n doctor. Newspapers pleaded for a vol unteer. Here was both challenge an opportunity. Wallquist accepted post as a government physician.

No initiation into medical practic could have been more appalling. The Lapps proved particularly susceptibl to the dreaded flu virus. As thei reindeer range from mountain mead ows down to the valleys and the se when snows cover the higher pas tures, the Lapps had to follow thei herds across hundreds of miles of th trackless northland. That meant liv ing in cold, drafty reindeer skin tent or huts built of saplings and ther sodded. Under such conditions, they died like flies.

Wallquist had to become accus tomed to three winter months whe the sun never rises and the tempera ture falls to 50 below zero; to ski t lonely Lapp huts with only crud maps, a compass, and fortitude t guide him; to work 20, sometimes 2 hours a day. "I learned the truth o the old saying, 'the wings of man' life are plumed with the feathers o death,' " Wallquist told me. "I did my best, but no best could have been good enough." By spring, more than 1000 Lapps had died.

By the time the epidemic was over Wallquist had decided to devote his life to these isolated people. In the wilderness there were so many ways

o die—freezing, insanity caused by oneliness, disease, accidents, wild easts. But there was hope, too, and ourage. Like the epic courage of Eskil, the trapper, suddenly attacked by a giant brown bear as he plodded home. He had no weapon, so fell face forward in the snow pretending to be dead. The bear ripped murderously at his head and shoulders, then lapped the blood. In agony but still conscious, Eskil heard the bear move a few feet away. After a quarter hour it returned for a second attack. Somehow, Eskil survived, and then crawled a half mile to his hut. "When I got there, Eskil was half-scalped, with 55 separate wounds on his body," Wallquist says. "Yet he recovered. Tough people, the Lapps."

Or take the case of Angol, an 18-year-old Lapp boy who almost completely severed the femoral artery in his groin one spring while butchering reindeer. His brother — who had watched Dr. Wallquist suture an axe wound on his own leg the year before—stitched up the gaping injury with the cobbler's needle and thread all Lapps carry. The father ran six miles to the nearest telephone to summon Wallquist. In eight hours Wallquist raced on foot nearly 30 miles to the boy's side, jumping from tuft to tuft in gloomy swamps, battling through melting snowdrifts.

By some miracle the crude stitching had held and the boy still lived. But Wallquist realized that only an intricate operation could save him. No rescue plane could land on the thawing ice, but a torrential river, which ultimately reached a highway, raced a hundred yards away. Angol was carried to a boat, which was lowered by ropes down through bellowing rapids. Then the boat had to be lifted, twisted and jolted over timber jams, skidded across crackling ice, with the rescue party holding to the gunwales and jumping instantly back into the boat when the rotting ice caved under them. Yet 72 hours after the original accident, Wallquist delivered Angol to a hospital in Stockholm. Today he is strapping and sturdy again.

Tramp through Wallquist's forbidding frontier land, as I did, and you will hear countless tales of the selfless valor of this indomitable physician. You will hear how for hours he warmed a patient suffering from asthma with his own body in 45-below-zero cold until he could get the patient to the hospital, where he ultimately saved him; how thanks to 20 years of tuberculin injections for all babies Wallquist has cut Lapland's tuberculosis rate by 80 percent.

Wallquist's homely practice demands as much skilled psychology as medical skill. Many of the Swedish settlers, who comprise the majority of his patients, succumb to a wilderness neurosis known as "Lapp sickness." Particularly prevalent in the sunless winters, it can produce complete emotional imbalance—like the case of one woman who set something of a world's record by staying in bed for 56 years. The little doctor's kindness and persuasive tact have cured hundreds of such patients.

When Wallquist first reached Arjeplog in 1922, he had no medical facilities save his surgical kit and his own hands. But he has since badgered the government into building a magnificent 50-bed hospital, two small nursing hospitals, with three traveling nurses to serve the surrounding countryside; a comfortable home for the aged, and a boarding school for nomad Lapp children.

In his maternity wards he insists that each baby be bathed and diapered in front of its mother in order to teach better hygiene; that each room in the hospital has growing plants and gay curtains; that a library is available. And every room and corridor is decorated with pleasing pictures painted by Wallquist himself.

No wonder his patients trust him implicitly. This trust paid great dividends after the Germans invaded Norway in 1940. Hitler's grandiose plans for a new railroad from Oslo to the North Cape filled north Norway with thousands of slave laborers

ARCTIC FRONTIERSMAN beside an unfrozen lake. Reindeer jacket, wide belt, knife, bag and upturned boots are typical summer costume among nomads of Sweden's north.

Death Doesn't Wear Skis *continued*

of every nationality, desperate to escape to Sweden. But 2500 square miles of uninhabited territory, where thousands could perish unseen, lay along the border. Wallquist persuaded every able-bodied Lapp and Swede on the desolate mountain frontier to augment the thin ranks of the Swedish frontier patrols.

The work proved a miracle of organization. Thirty deserted Lapp huts were stocked with a first aid chest, boots, socks, sweaters, blankets, food, firewood and matches. Signs printed in eight languages pointed the way to these refuges; a short wave radio stood ready to call for help. Not only did the volunteer brigade incessantly patrol the barren frontier—if tracks showed an escapee in the neighborhood every able-bodied man was mobilized to begin a methodical search until the shivering victim was found.

Some were found too late, some will never be found at all. But once located, the careful planning and medical skill saved all but six out of 5000. Hundreds, of course, lost feet, hands, arms, ears. Others survived incredible hardships, like the young Pole who wandered shoeless for 19 days in the terrible mountains because he removed his boots to rub frostbitten toes and could not get them on again. A Czech was found stark naked by a Lapp in 16-below-zero weather—the Gestapo had taken away his clothes after a previous attempt to escape. Most remarkable of all, one autumn a Ukrainian captain fell through thin ice into a river; after struggling ashore, he lay down for a rest and froze into a block of solid ice. He lay helpless until a Lapp patrol stumbled over him 24 hours after the accident. Incredibly, he survived after both legs were amputated.

Mingled with such heartening tales of physical escape are tales of what the human spirit can do and endure, for example, the story of three young Russian couples, who had been sent by the Germans as slave labor to Norway. The six decided to brave the frontier escape route. The night of their escape, one of the men, Petrovsk, and the three girls waited in a blinding snow storm on a cliff top near the Norwegian frontier, while the two other youths went to beg food from a Norwegian farmer in the valley. As the quartet on the mountainside stamped about in the howling wind and darkness, there was a sudden scream. One of the girls, Sondra, had fallen over the cliff.

Petrovsk climbed down the mountain face to the girl's side. Painfully, he gasped his way back to report to her returning lover, Vasilav, that Sondra was dead. Then by warnings of Gestapo dog patrols, he forced his four remaining companions on.

Through snow, ice, forests, across lakes and streams, the five struggled for days, ultimately reaching one of Wallquist's rescue huts. When the doctor arrived by hospital plane, Petrovsk had collapsed. A day later, dying, he told Wallquist a grisly story: Sondra had been alive—though with both legs broken—after her fall! He confessed that he had lied about her death because he feared any delay might result in capture.

At once Wallquist sent his Lapp runners over the frontier to bury the girl in a decent grave.

Soon a well-nigh unbelievable message flashed in—Sondra had been found by the Norwegian farmer the morning after her fall, and was now safely hospitalized! Later there was a joyous reunion between Vasilav and Sondra. "In a way, I had always been something of an agnostic," Wallquist told me. "But that miracle of the north—and who could call it anything but a miracle—changed me. Even here, where man seems so abandoned, strange powers are at work."

Wallquist not only helped heal the escapees' bodies, but lifted their broken spirits by every means at his command—such as quietly sending a brutally tortured Yugoslav boy to a Swedish university at his own expense. And giving almost nightly dinners, with each man's miniature national flag as a place card, then playing light airs on the piano afterward and telling jokes in five languages—or resorting to an inimitable pantomime of his own, if he could not speak the escapees' tongue. "To see them laugh again," Wallquist said. "To let them know there was still such a thing as laughter in the world."

When I visited Wallquist at Arjeplog recently, I found his home a center of life and light for the whole north country. As his fame spread streams of visitors as august as Prince Wilhelm, King Gustav's son, and the late Selma Lagerlof, Nobel-prize winning novelist, became frequent guests. A sprawling ten-room modern house, luxuriously furnished, a fortune in antique Lapp silver collected over the years, and a grand piano help ease the loneliness of the Arctic. And with the doctor are two living proofs of his great and gentle heart: an orphan son and daughter, adopted when their parents perished.

Far and beyond most physcians, Dr. Wallquist has led an incredibly useful and successful life. He has written eight best selling books in "spare time." In recognition of his war work he has received decorations from numerous foreign governments, including Norway's prized St. Olaf's medal and Poland's Polonia Pestituta. In a widely-praised and lengthy experiment, he proved for the first time that the lemming, that prodigiously spawning ground rat of the north, was the source of a mysterious ailment which he also proved to be tularemia. And—perhaps his greatest pride—he has successfully delivered 3000 healthy babies in the modern hospital where there was only a bare hillside 20 years ago.

Wallquist is still ablaze with new plans. One of the world's great advocates of preventive medicine, he is now engaged in persuading the government to build a new health center, where better hygiene and prophylaxsis will be taught. He is confident of getting an assistant—not to relieve him of burdens, but to provide even better service for his 4800 patients. "It is easier now, much easier," he says. "Why, there are at least 25 new telephones, so people can call me without skiing so far." Twenty-five more telephones, in a territory 10,000 miles square!

In Wallquist's hospital that evening, as we looked down at outpost Arjeplog, still ablaze with midnight sunshine in the jeweled Arctic summer, a feeling of awe swept over me. Here, at the uttermost end of the earth, this little physician's skill and courage had not only enabled him to survive the worst terrors and tempests of the Arctic, but had brought survival to thousands of others as well. No man could ask a more triumphant monument.

RICH IN HUMAN DIGNITY

POOR IN TECHNICAL SKILLS

The Orient can be won but not conquered

No Nation Swallows Asia

BY ROBERT PAYNE

Authority on Asia whose new book, "Report on America," will be published in March

THE PICTURE that Asia presents must be drawn in sharp outlines, with jagged shadows. An entirely new world is erupting with volcanic force, and there is no power on earth that can restrain it or direct it—neither the United States which has at times and places attempted the first nor the Soviet Union which some have credited with succeeding in the second.

To imagine that Russia could direct the flow of more than a thousand million Asiatics and hold them by her leading strings is to credit Russia with greater strength and purpose than she possesses. It is not Europe that will decide all the issues of peace or war: the balance of power is held by the millions who are still unconscious that they possess power at all.

These violent forces, let loose in uncharted directions, tend to follow democracy because only democracy permits and encourages the survival of human dignity, and it is because democracy can be so easily and spontaneously adapted to the Asiatic

CHINA'S YOUTH—THEY WANT A MANIFESTO DECLARING MAN'S DIGNITY

No Nation Swallows Asia *continued*

scene that the real power of America can be demonstrated and utilized in Asia.

The character of our time demands that the US should adjust itself to a situation in Asia that now assumes critical significance. It is clear that Americans cannot any longer behave as we have behaved in the past, or even as we have behaved in the past few years.

The urgencies that face us in Europe face us elsewhere, and they face us most acutely on the shores of the new Middle Sea. As the center of gravity of the world veers towards Asia, the Pacific acquires a significance never before possessed. The Asiatic century has begun, and the problem of our time is not how to make peace with Russia but how to create a world in which the people find peace endurable.

"The roots of democracy," said President Truman, "will not draw much nourishment in any nation from a soil of poverty and economic distress. It is part of our strategy of peace, therefore, to assist in the rehabilitation and development of the Far Eastern countries." But so far too little has been done; there have been altogether too many pious phrases; the urgencies of the situation have been disguised; and the armies of America are still for the most part her only contribution to the Asiatic scene.

The revolt of Asia is the greatest revolution that has ever occurred; and the emphasis is on the social struggle, not on war. We must realize that it will eventually change the pattern of American economy, just as the desperate revolt of the Japanese changed the economy of America. The west coast, already a center of migration, will continue to absorb more and more of the Middle West, and the ports of Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Francisco will become of even greater significance to the development of Asiatic trade. The curtain has lifted on a new world, and for the adventurous spirit of America new frontiers are opened out, as they opened in the last century, for in the most concrete sense the Asiatics are the men we must know if we are to survive.

At the end of World War II the Asiatics looked toward America, Britain, and Russia for leadership in their struggle for independence. Though almost all of the emergent Asiatic states looked toward America first and wrote their declarations of independence on the American model, it became clear to them that the State Department possessed no carefully thought-out plan and seemed almost wilfully determined to obstruct the evolving pattern of social democracy wherever it appeared.

The Navy retained its feudal outposts in the Pacific; the Army ruled in Korea and Japan; the power of the Zaibatsu was not broken; the Emperor of Japan and the dictator of China were confirmed in their powers; arms were sent or sold to China for the deliberate purpose of fanning the Civil War; nearly every action during the year immediately following the war seemed to have been taken with an instinctive sense of fatality, of going against the grain of history.

It was in the power of the United States in August, 1945, to have assisted the revolutionary birth of Asia, to have acknowledged the inevitable change in the status quo and to have led the revolt. Nothing was so admirable in those early days as men's reliance on the good offices of the United States.

The Four Freedoms possessed more concrete meaning in Asia than elsewhere; want lay close to men's skins, and tyranny walked broad-shouldered through the multitudes of peasants, a tyranny so powerful that in China, for example, no efforts were made to disguise it, and indeed every effort was made to make it appear as it was, so that men should be afraid to speak aloud. In China, Korea, and to a lesser extent in Japan freedom of speech went by default. So it was to some extent in India and the British colonies, where the Tory legacy of colonial government outlasted Tory power. For Asia it was one of those rare critical times in history, a time when major decisions and the men who make or execute them assume lasting importance.

This time of change is not yet ended. The existing Asiatic states may not last long, for in a period of great social tensions, there is a tendency at work that may be characterized, in Dr. Toynbee's words, as "withdrawal - and - return." Nations may split apart, whole segments withdrawing into isolation, but at the same time the Asiatic nations will tend to form larger wholes. Though Pakistan is separated from India, and North China may separate from South, vast plans of federation are already afoot, and it is unlikely that that they can be indefinitely postponed.

The League for the Federation of South-East Asia, formed under the auspices of Tiang Sirnanana of Siam, Prince Soupneuvong of Laos, and Le Hi of Vietnam, envisages a territory that includes Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the islands north of Australia, together with the Philippines, forming a new nation of over 150,000,000 with a single defense system, joint foreign relations, and co-ordination of economic life.

The establishment of this federation is still far in the future. Siam, Burma, and the Philippines are free, and so also are parts of Indonesia in spite of a theoretical dependence on the Dutch Crown, while the issue of the war in Indo-China cannot be greatly prolonged.

Starting with a loose federation based upon common interests, there

The Penalty of Being Prolific

The veto is not the only voting provision laid down by the UN Charter which inspires complaint. Asiatics protest that they are inadequately represented by the six votes of China, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Siam and Burma.

As many votes are cast by the Latin American states of Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Nicaragua and Salvador—whose total population is 7 million. That of the six Asiatic states is 1 billion.

NOT SECRET, BUT FREE. Few Chinese have ever voted. This rare photograph, made in Nanking, shows a ballot being marked by brush stroke while a fan-waving policeman looks on. The voter's identification card is at right on the bench.

is no reason why a formidable federation possessing fabulous resources should not come about, with the result that the whole configuration of power in the Orient will be changed; nor is it unlikely that India, the first country to recognize the Indonesian Republic, will form a close alliance with the new federation.

Meanwhile the literacy rate in Asia is mounting, and the fantastic heights of the Asiatic birth rate are already beginning to make themselves felt. Almost three million (2,700,000) new babies are now born annually in Japan. If India's death rate could be lowered to the level of that of the United States, India alone with her present birth rate could fill five worlds. The problem of the Asiatic birth rate begins to loom large.

There is no evidence that the Japanese government or the American Military Government have given thought to solving the population problem, which may be the decisive problem of our time. It is hardly a solution to suggest, as some Asiatics have already suggested, that when America and Russia have destroyed one another by atomic bombs, both of these huge continental countries will be wide open for Asiatic expansion. But nothing is more likely than that the Asiatics will be compelled to expand into Africa, Australia, and even perhaps New Zealand. These changes may occur more quickly than we now believe possible. Only one thing is certain; it will no longer be possible to play one Asiatic group against another, for they are conscious already of their invisible bonds.

This union of Asiatics is not, inevitably, a threat to the West. Mr. William C. Bullitt recently returned from Asia to voice the hysterical nightmare that Stalin would eventually mobilize all the forces of Europe and Asia against the United States—"He will organize 450,000,000 Chinese. He will organize 350,000,000 Muslims and Hindus of India. He will organize all the Arabs. He will organize all the French, Italians, Germans, Poles, Scandinavians. He will organize them into overwhelming masses of men and machines." This prediction was evidence of a profound and shocking ignorance of the Asiatic scene. For the evolution of Asia has been consistently toward a form of social democracy, and not toward communism, and the fact that the Communists are powerful in China derives from the feudalism of the Kuomintang, not from the nature of Asiatic Social development.

No one can doubt that Russia has eyes on Asia, that every effort of penetration short of war is being utilized, that at least 9000 Asiatic students are studying in various colleges in Siberia and Moscow, and that Russia is attempting to exert pressure in Afghanistan, Tibet, Singkiang, and Mongolia, while the great new industrial centers round Alma Ata are strategically situated to supply pressure along the Russian frontiers of Asia.

No Nation Swallows Asia *continued*

The announced Russian objectives are the control of Manchuria and India, which contains Asia's greatest industrial potential; but the successes of the Communists in India were weakened by Gandhi's continual disapproval of their methods, their constant shifts in policy and their inability to penetrate the peasant Kisans, already for the most part captured by the Indian socialists.

The Russians in conquering Manchuria and then stripping it of all its turbine generators, to the astonishment of the Chinese Communists, themselves showed very clearly the path they were inclined to follow in Asia. This has been remembered against them, and the Chinese students who hate the Kuomintang government for its corruption find no reason to love the USSR for robbery.

Distrust of Russia is increasingly growing. Soetan Sjahrir, who borrowed some of his socialist concepts from the Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, has fought Communism in Java vigorously. Nehru's horror at many aspects of the Russian experiment has been expressed in his books. Unless Communism succeeds in capturing the social consciousness of the young Asiatics by the drive and simplicity of a new program for Asia diametrically opposed to the program enforced in Russia, her chances of winning seem slight indeed.

Meanwhile, if America desires to win them, profound changes of policy will be needed. Most important of all is the need to change her attitude toward the social demands of the Asiatic peasantry, who will be swayed by the Communist cry of "imperialism" if our policy should be mainly concerned with the support of feudal and vested interests.

This it has been in the past. During 1946 and 1947 Kuomintang China received the bulk of $713,000,000 worth of UNRRA aid ($535,000,000 in goods, $178,000,000 in transport and administration), $855,000,000 worth of war surpluses and fixed installations, $695,900,000 in purely military aid (though the war against Japan ended the previous year).

To this government, which had flouted all four freedoms and acted with impatient tyranny toward the demands of the people for land reform and a thousand changes in the standards of government, Mr. Bullitt proposed a further loan of $1,350,000,000, though the total of $2,263,900,000 already given had done nothing more than increase the cost of living to unbearable proportions and allowed the government to become more intolerant of opposition than ever before.

It is necessary always that we should remember how great a part the concept of human dignity plays in the East, not only in China and India but elsewhere. The Moros and the Balinese stabbing themselves in despair before the invasion of the West, the deep currents of pride that afflict the Malays, the simple dignity of the most obscure Tamil rubber planter, the feverish despair and energy and triumphs of the Hindus, all are displayed to us without ostentation and with a naturalness that defies our most careful analysis.

The Asiatic peasant, reading the Communist Manifesto with its strange diatribes against the peasants, is not impressed. An American manifesto, relating to the social tasks America has set before herself, would even now have a surprising effect on the Asiatic people, who are beginning to dislike Americans more than they have ever disliked them before. It would be necessary, however, for the manifesto to be written bluntly and solidly, and it is also necessary that the terms of the manifesto should be rigidly upheld.

For the Asiatic peasant the most urgent problem of all concerns agrarian reform, but if he examines the land reform practiced by the Americans in Japan, he sighs for a Russian invasion, for by June 1, 1947, only about 350,000 acres of a total of 5,000,000 acres had been bought by the government for redistribution, and up to this date not one acre had been allotted to a tenant farmer.

If he looked to the reforms of the Kuomintang, he would find himself at a loss to discover any land reforms whatsoever; on the contrary he would find that the feudal estates are increasing in area and that the government, for the twenty-seventh time, is instituting a small "model area" where land reform could be practiced only to show, as Chiang Kai-shek declared in *China's Destiny*, that land reform is impracticable.

If he looked to the reforms in the Philippines, he would see that in theory the large holdings are being bought and redistributed on long-term loans to the individual farmers, and that by law 70 per cent of the produce belongs to the peasant and 30 per cent to the landowner, but this law is no more efficient than a similar law in China, and the peasants are convinced that the heart of the government is still with the *hacienderos*.

On the other hand, the peasant would discover that large land reforms are being put into operation in India in spite of the struggle between the Muslims and the Hindus and that Jawaharlal Nehru has pledged himself to reform in such a way that there can be no possibility of error. In fact, in the whole of Asia, India is the only nation where such deliberate and far-reaching plans are being put in operation. In many districts these plans will fail; it is too much to hope that the agricultural habits of centuries and the powers of the great *zemindars* will be completely broken.

But at least in India there is vast hopefulness. The Plan of Economic Development of India, popularly known as the Bombay Plan, envisaged agricultural and industrial developments that called for the expenditure of $35,000,000,000 and looked forward to a "doubling of the present *per capita* income within a period of 15 years, by raising the net output of agriculture to a little over twice its present figure and that of industry, including both large and small industries, to approximately five times the present output."

These fantastic totals were a measure of Indian self-confidence and of the amazing resources of the nation. Plague, famine, and civil war were to come, but in its essentials the "Bombay Plan" of 1944 still remains the blueprint of the new India.

There are at least three important regions in which American assistance to the East will help towards the peaceful development of Oriental countries—by education, by utilizing the resources of American knowledge of hydro-electric power and soil conservation and by loans. The first and the second are primarily academic and are most urgent and most easy to put into operation; they are also the least expensive. Though loans may be necessary, they are by no means the most important, and if an ARP

is to follow an ERP, they should be placed high on the list, if only because the peasants, who form the greater proportion of Asiatic populations, lack western "know how."

Five factors, in particular, must be seriously studied with regard to Asia.

First and foremost is the emergence of the social revolution with all its diverse phenomena of nationalism, socialism, a rising program of education, an electorate exalted and inspired by the promise of full control over its government, the rise in the literacy rate, and the emergence into political power of people who have been oppressed for centuries.

Second, we are confronted with a swiftly changing economic system in Asia. Prewar Asia no longer exists. The whole fabric of its economy is now under grave strain, and the process of adaptation, though speeded up by socialism, can only increase the strain. The economic focuses have changed. Japan, in spite of considerable exports in textiles, will never recover her economic foothold in Asia if only because hatred for Japan is too deep-seated among the peoples she conquered. Meanwhile, every Asiatic nation is desperately attempting to become nationalized, industrialized, and to a greater or lesser extent socialized. Nothing will convince the Asiatics that the primary sources of power and production should be left in the hands of private enterprise; they have learned that private enterprise is rarely private, and it has been enterprising in the past only on behalf of foreigners.

Third, we are confronted with the changing relations between Asia and the West: our primacy is forfeit at last. Though for a brief space we shall act as conquerors in Japan, Korea, Indonesia, and Malaya, our rule is hardly more than shadow play, a charade performed before a backcloth on which is depicted the beautiful and tragic spectacle of the nations of Asia aroused at least to a consciousness of their own powers and their vast fertility. Our day in Asia is ended, their sun is rising, and we would be fools of conquest to imagine that it can be postponed.

Fourth, we are confronted with the tendency on the part of Asiatics to form large federations on the principle that they need greater security against the temptations of revived imperialism.

Last, we are confronted with Asiatic Communism, which may and probably will follow a path opposed to Russian Communism simply because the problems that face Russia are so often dissimilar to the problems that face Asia. If Communism emerges in Asia, it will be as a result of our own moral weakness, for more than we imagine, the Asiatics are opposed to tyranny, and it is hardly likely that they will exchange the tyranny of one imperialism for that of another.

"Let us extend our authority over China," Senator Brewster recently exclaimed, forgetting that there is little difference between "extending authority over China" and rape of empire.

It is, in fact, still possible for the great powers to extend their authority, not by conquest, but by offering all possible resources of education to the Asiatic student. This authority would be of the kind that never relinquishes its hold or vanishes, for it is based upon compelling human motives; it is an authority that extends in both directions, compelling the West to an understanding of the East as assuredly as it compels the East to understand us.

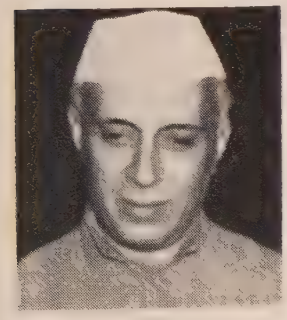
If America desires seriously to see a free world, I would have thought that the problem of enabling Asiatic students to understand its mechanical and social techniques would have acquired paramount importance, for if America succeeds in establishing itself in the empire of their minds, it has gained the whole world by gaining them as future allies.

Three future leaders of Asia

ACHMED SOEKARNOE

President of the Republic of Indonesia—48 years old

Educated as an architect at the Bandoeng Institute of Technology, became organizer of railway laborers. Arrested and imprisoned in 1934 for rioting. A brilliant orator, career has led him to become organizer of all the people not into labor unions but toward national union.



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister of India—60 years old

Formerly the protege, now the political heir of Gandhi. Educated in England, learned Hindustani to communicate with the illiterate masses. Writes masterly English and his books, largely written during 10 years in prison, have been read by millions outside India.

SUN SOONG CHING-LING

Second wife and widow of Sun Yat Sen—58 years old

Educated in the United States, was secretary to Dr. Sun for years before their marriage. Has never held administrative posts under brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek but has been member of Kuomintang central executive committee since 1926. Has harshly criticized regime.

The word is

Suffer the Little Children

not

Let the Children Suffer

BY DR. CHARLES R. JOY
Christian minister and author

The author of this article is a minister whose services have not been limited to the soul. As author he has enriched the minds of clergy and laity with five books, the latest of which is *The Africa of Albert Schweitzer*. He has served as pastor of Congregational and Unitarian churches in Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio and Missouri. As social worker he has served UNRRA as international observer, the War Refugee Board as executive secretary of a special research committee, the Save the Children Federation as European Director—a post he now holds. His last trip to Europe extended from early June through October. He has studied child welfare in virtually all of Western Europe as well as Scandinavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland.

I REMEMBER visiting a family in the Kielce region of Poland. There was a widow with six children. Her husband and her oldest son had been killed in a battle with a German tank. The family had been very well off once—with a nice house, eight hectares of land, four cows, horses.

But when I visited them they were living in a hole dug in the ground, 8 by 12 feet, with a home-made stone stove in the corner, a single bed of boards, on which all seven slept. The floor was of earth. There was one small window to let in light, the room was full of flies. The mother and girl had bare feet. I asked about their shoes. There was not a shoe in the family. Four of the children were of school age, but not one of them went to school. They couldn't, for lack of shoes.

I asked about the food. The woman said simply: "We still have some potatoes."

"How do you support the family?"

"I work as a common laborer in the fields."

"What do you see ahead? What hope for the future have you?"

It was a cruel question. She broke into tears, shook her head and sobbed, "For us there is no future."

I remember a tourist who reported how comfortably he was living in a certain city of Europe on the equivalent of 100 American dollars a month. That is possible. I have traveled all over Europe. One can live on American dollars much more cheaply in

THESE ARE EUROPE'S UNHAPPY ONES—
THE ORPHANED, THE HUNGRY, THOSE WHO
DWELL IN STINKING CAVES—
THEIR NEED IS FOR MILK AND BREAD
FOR SHOES AND SHIRTS AND SCHOOLS
BUT MOST OF ALL THEIR NEED IS LOVE

Photos by Toni and Dickie Chapelle

Europe than one can in America. But how many Europeans get the equivalent of $100 a month?

I remember a man in Vienna who is an expert chemist. He has a family of four to support. He is employed by the city as a water analyst. He gets the equivalent of $25 a month and he is unusually well paid.

I remember in Naples families living in the black darkness of the old tufa caves in the heart of the city, between the shore and the hills above. They represented the wreckage cast up by the tide of misery that swept the peninsula before the conquering armies of the allies. On wooden benches and on piles of rags they slept against the walls in these damp and dismal caverns. Men and women and little children grew sick and died there. Babies were born there. Yet one of the high officials in the city government refused to believe that any such conditions as I described could possibly exist.

Then I went to Rome. And I was told by all to whom I mentioned the cave dwellers of Naples, that nothing of that sort could be found in Rome. But one afternoon I went to the outskirts of the city and found the counterpart of Naples' cave dwellers. They were living under the arches of the old aqueduct that the Roman praetor, Quintus Marcius Rex, had constructed in 144 B.C. They had made huts of reeds, they had built crude walls of salvaged bricks, they had filled in the arches, and there, under and against the old Pia-Marcia aqueduct they were living a forlorn existence.

Then I went to La Spezia farther north. "Oh," the officials said, "La Spezia suffered terribly from bombing, but no such abject conditions as those you found in Naples and Rome exist." So one day I went exploring, and high above the city in the dark and dirty casemates of the old fortifications I found the homeless trying to make a home with the rats and the other denizens of darkness.

Finally I went to Messina in Sicily, and in the company of a high Italian Red Cross official I went to visit some of those whom the Italian government calls the "roofless" people. Out of their holes in the ground they came swarming, blinking in the sun-

THEIR LAST COCOA. The Czech children on this and the preceding page were photographed by the Chapelles early in 1948 in the upper elementary school at Zelecise. The daily feeding was black bread and hot liquid. On this day the liquid was the last of the UNRRA cocoa.

Suffer the Little Children *continued*

light, stumbling over the filth, wading through pools of water, out of their cellar holes, where they lived without light, water, sanitation, or any of the comforts and conveniences of civilized living. And when we had visited these underground "homes" we left practically nauseated, and the official said to me: "I had no slightest idea that anyone in Messina was living under such horrible conditions."

Europe was full of American tourists last summer; 150,000 of them visited France alone. They brought with them precious dollars. They were made very welcome. They had butter. They ate meat. They had hot water in their hotels. Unless they were wise beyond the average they were not aware of the vast areas of distress around the pleasant villa which had been so carefully prepared for their coming. They seldom knew that the "good coffee" they drank was black-market coffee. Few ever learned the difference betwen what they ate in hotels and restaurants and what the people ate in their homes.

Now they have come back to the cities and towns of America to tell of lands flowing with milk and honey. If by their testimony they persuade their people that Europe no longer needs the help Americans have been so generously giving, then Europe will have paid a sorry price for the dollars it gained from them.

The nations of Europe are proud. They are not beggars. They do not parade their needs to casual visitors. They are making progress against terrific odds in depleted resources and exhausted manpower, and recovery to a certain extent is everywhere evident. This is what they like to talk about, and the more somber aspect of the scene is not always disclosed. In addition to the silken curtain that the tourist agencies have drawn across the face of Europe there is the screen Europe itself has erected to hide its nakedness.

Perhaps it is not strange that the tourists should bring back so superficial a picture of the Europe they have seen, since many European officials themselves seem to be blind to the full depths of misery into which so many hundreds of thousands are plunged.

No, the tourists can not be blamed too much. For how few of them visit the "borghate" outside of Rome where the jobless live, or the feeding points in Vienna where many thousands of little hungry children eat a supplementary meal each day, or the Volksdeutsch camps near Salzburg where the unwanted German-speaking families from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire now try to preserve a bit of privacy by hanging curtains across their corners of the common room, or the public halls in Salonica where the refugees from the guerilla war have taken shelter, or the homes where the mutilated children are hidden, or the institutions for the orphans, or the sanatoria for tubercular children, or the garbage dumps where little ones still rummage for food! These places are not on the beaten tourist track. But many millions of unfortunates know this path too well. Sometimes they tread it with bare and bleeding feet.

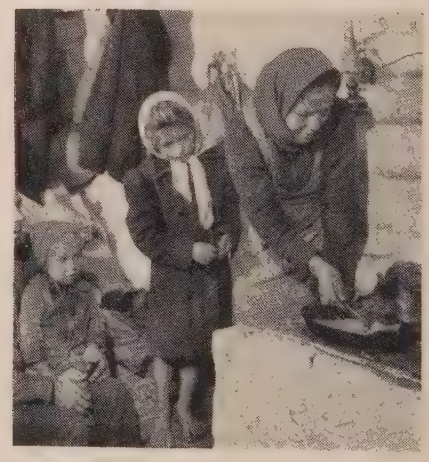
How can the casual visitor know the inner scars, moreover, that men and women and little children wear. He can read the figures that reveal the alarming increase in the incidence of tuberculosis in many parts of Europe. He can study the reports showing that hunger is still an unconquered malady for many millions of Europe's children in spite of splendid harvests everywhere.

But who is to tell him of the twisted minds, the perverted souls which are the aftermath of the war. How is he to understand the little children for whom a crust is a symbol of security, who cannot sleep at night unless they clutch a piece of bread in their hands against the danger of waking to a world of hunger!

How is he to understand the "good" children, whose very goodness is a baffling problem to their teachers, who haven't energy enough to get into mischief, because they are too ill, or too weak, or too dispirited! He doesn't see the children who fall asleep at their desks, the children who wake up at night screaming with

Children who have too much only o

FRONT DOOR. Poland's rural homes in some areas were as devastated as those in the cities. Peasants live in such dugouts.



INTERIOR. A pan of potato pancakes will be the main meal for this family in Lucimia. They have a cow, no shoes.

terror, because of the frightful experiences they have gone through.

He talks about the recovery of Europe, he urges his friends to keep their money at home, because he has gone through Europe drinking "good" coffee, and spreading butter on his bread.

Only a few weeks ago I stood before a schoolroom of small boys, in the city of Vienna. They had just sung beautifully to me a lovely round, in which they told me how happy they were to see me and how honored they felt by my coming. Except for their ragged clothes and pinched faces they looked like normal children, but how abnormal, how terrible had been their experiences.

There in the front row were three boys. On the left was Otto Trzyklowsky, born in 1942. His father came back from the war with another woman and ordered his wife and little Otto from the home. The mother took the shortest way out. She jumped from the window with Otto in her arms. The mother was badly hurt, the boy outwardly not at all. The mother went to the insane asylum, the boy to this home.

In the middle was Franz Stolz, born in 1941. His father was killed in the war. His mother is a drunkard who sells for drink everything she can get hold of, including the ration cards for Franz's food.

To the right was Ferdinand Lakomi, born in 1940. His father was killed in an air raid. His mother died insane. He has no relatives.

We can study the physical condition of such children. We can feed them, and clothe them, and give them needed medicines. But how can we make amends for the spiritual tortures they have suffered, how can we straighten out again their twisted souls?

Organizations that minister to the needs of Europe in the name of American generosity have often interpreted their task as one of mass relief, soap and shoes and soup. There are a few, however, like America's Save the Children Federation, who see that there are unseen, inner needs to satisfy, and that friendliness may be even more important than vitamins, and love more potent than medicine.

So they have personalized their program, and with every gift of clothing or food they have offered something much more significant, a potential friend. The ties they are creating in this widespread work are bridging the chasms of misunderstanding, and filling with faith the gulfs of fear. If we are to build one world, here is the way to build it.

The magnitude of the task still to be accomplished in Europe just to save the children for the future startles and staggers the imagination. The work is not done. There are many millions of hungry children in Europe still, cold and half-naked children, children sick both in body and mind.

We must bring them out of the shadowed streets, out of the smelly cellars, out of the caverns of fear. It is a task for the United Nations, but until the United Nations set all their strength to that noble enterprise, it remains a task for you and me.

unger and fear

MENTAL CASES. Most of these children in a Warsaw "home" are half orphans—insecure, frightened even of the camera.

THE OLD MESSINA HOME for these 16 Sicilians and one dog is an airless cellar before the door of which they congregate for a breath of fresh air. There are three generations, four babies in this family—and for none a future without outside help.

Photo by Charles R. Joy

TRAVEL

That excellent invention:

The Riviera

THE GRAND DUKES AND LESSER DUKES ARE GONE
ON THE COTE D'AZUR THERE NOW REIGN
ORIENTAL SHAHS AND KHANS
AND YANKEE QUEENS OF PRESS AND CINEMA

BY HORACE SUTTON
Author of "Footloose in France"

THE CARNIVAL KING PARADES IN NICE

HOLLYWOOD, which had previously discovered gin rummy, Bach and Betty Grable, has now found out about the Riviera. As in the cases already cited, and others, it is coming to seem that Hollywood invented the fringe of sand-flecked playground which has been called everything from the "Côte d'Azur" to a "92 mile strip of amusement park" to "a lacquered eyelash fluttering on the tired face of Europe."

As a consequence of Hollywood's new infatuation, general US affluence, French economy, Russian politics and British austerity, the Riviera may soon be called as well, "America's most famous winter resort." (Give credit, also, to Rita Hayworth and Elsa Maxwell, whose various aptitudes, friends and standing with the press attracted others of their two ilks.)

Actually, as a resort, the Riviera was first popularized by the British more than 60 years ago. A few of them built villas there facing the friendly winter sun and overlooking the glittering turquoise sea. Thousands more, their joints dried by years in the Sudan or the Northwest Territories, fled from England's clammy winters to hotels built for them by enterprising hoteliers.

After the English came Russian nobles and aristocrats, and a few wealthy Poles, Hungarians, and Rumanians. They began to arrive in the winters of the 1890's to see the sun which sank in their own countries in October not to reappear in force until the spring. Now the British don't have the money, and the Russians don't have the nobility, while the proletarian aristocracy of Eastern Europe patronizes instead the palaces its former rulers built on the sloping shores of the cool Black Sea.

The Hollywood Era on the Riviera began last summer. Suddenly, in the neighborhood of the Carlton Hotel in Cannes or the Hotel du Cap in Antibes, you stood an even-money chance of running into Darryl Zanuck, Orson Welles, or Rita Hayworth. Each was readily recognizable: Zanuck by an eight-inch cigar, Welles by his bangs and Miss Hayworth by again getting her picture in all the papers after she stood the royal colony on its ear by standing up the Shah of Persia for lunch.

Any sand dune or bar stool you looked at last season might be—and sometimes was—topped with Maurice Chevalier, Charles Boyer, Tyrone Power, Linda Christian, or Jack Warner. They were all there, most of them lured by Elsa Maxwell who wrote in her newspaper column about the lunches she gave in her villa in the lovely village of Auribeau.

Then there were also the merely rich Americans, and Belgians, and Swiss, and Swedes, attracted by the irrepressible glitter of the stars. Between six o'clock and half past nine Cannes's gold crust society jammed the Carlton bar, happy to stand for hours just to sop up the great gobs of chichi that wafted about the room.

The hotel managers and cabaret owners look back on the old days with little nostalgia. One veteran resort owner, as he surveyed the cinema sensations last year, exclaimed: "This is the new royalty!"

The czars and dukes traveled overland by rail for days to reach their winter playground. The Riviera's new royalty can come by air in a matter of hours. Air France is offering special winter excursion rates. New York to Nice, round trip, for $573.50. Twelve hours from New York to Paris, two hours from Paris to Nice.

If the transportation seems high, French travel officials hurriedly produce hotel rate cards from the winter season. The best room in the best hotel in Nice—the Negresco—rents for $8 for two, without food. Table d'hôte lunches and dinners in the hotel's dining room are $3. Pension rates in de luxe hotels average about $11 a day per person. You can get by in most pensions for about $4 a day, but there are quoted prices as low as $1.80—all food included.

Add the transportation to the hotel and food costs, say the French, and compare the expense of a Riviera vacation with a winter trip to Miami Beach, or Las Vegas, or Palm Springs, or Tucson. This is the air age. It is also the age of the American dollar, and of the devaluated franc.

In summer the flashiest sports on the Côte d'Azur are water skiing and baccarat. The winter Mediterranean waters being too chilly for dousing, the baccarat (with chemin de fer and roulette) goes on all day and all night. The Palm Beach Casino is closed, but the Winter Casino in Cannes opens before Christmas, and the chips click like happy crickets all along the beach until spring returns.

In Monaco the Monte Carlo Casino built by the same architect who designed the Paris Opera, Charles Garnier, is open the year around. You must show your passport to get inside the guarded walls of this mint of the minute principality. You can't enter at all if you are a salaried citizen or a worker of Monegasque nationality, or if you're wearing shorts.

In addition to the Monte Carlo and a few others somewhat less well known, the Riviera collectively has more gambling dens than creches. Monaco's Hotel de Paris claims to be the only hotel in the world connected by underground tunnel to two casinos. Nobody has ever disputed the claim. In Nice, which is a great and ancient city of a quarter of a million people, the casino called the Palais de la Méditerranée, a huge marble mausoleum, is grand enough to make the Music Hall in New York look like a house on Tobacco Road.

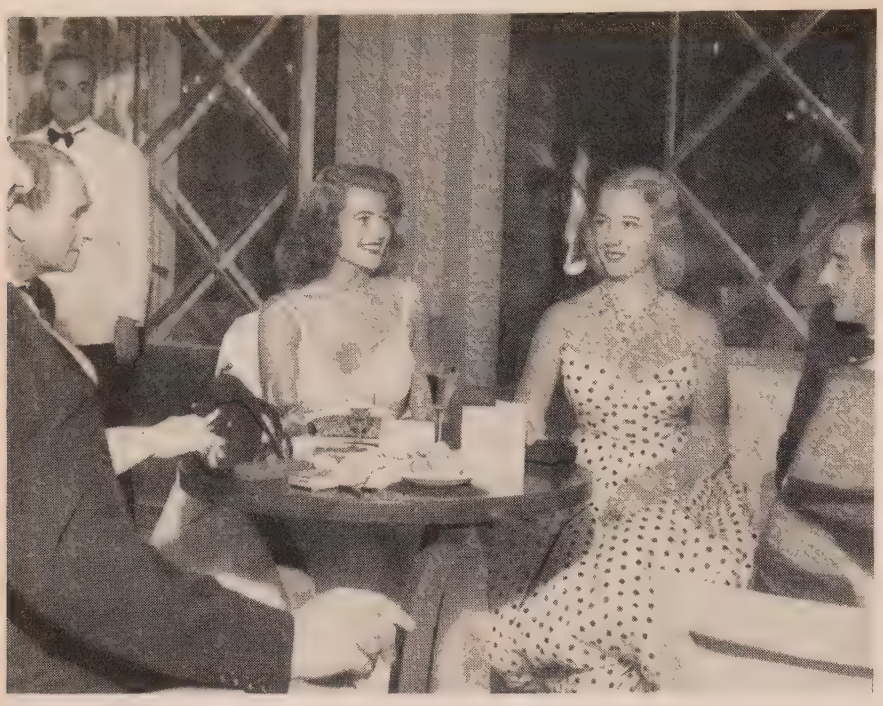
Smack on the Place Massena, one of Nice's busiest squares, is Le Casino Municipal, which probably has the widest reputation in the US of any European gambling house. Ex-GI's have spread word of Le Municipal. Tens of thousands of them became close friends with the manager, a man they fondly nicknamed Joe Casino. They loved Joe because, since it was forbidden to admit military personnel into gaming rooms, Monsieur Casino kept an extra stock of tuxedo coats on hand, and many an American has guessed red or black while garbed in suntans topped by a jacket with satin lapels.

Today Joe Casino is a wistful man. Although he runs an establishment that features, besides the gaming tables, a night club replete with dance band, a theater, and a music hall with continuous vaudeville, he remembers best the days when the Riviera was a military rest center. "Then," he says with a faraway look,

Once a royal resort now a public playground for the West

MONTE CARLO—EAST, WEST AND NORTH IS FRANCE; TO THE SOUTH LIES THE BLUE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

TWO REASONS FOR RIVIERA POPULARITY, Rita Hayworth and Lili Pons, the latter decked in polka dots and diamonds, the former bejeweled of tooth and eye.



The Riviera *continued*

LA CROISETTE BEACH at Cannes where winter tans come as deep as those earned in summer. The minimum bathing suits in the foreground are the so-called Bikini type.

"we used to have a party every night."

By daylight on the Riviera in winter, there is golf, tennis, and horse racing at Cannes and Nice. There is sun bathing on the beach from eleven until two, and sailing at any hour on the blue-blue sea. Two hours away by bus or car one can ski at Auron, Beuil and Valberg, in the foothills of the Alps. With the top down one can motor in comfort along the Corniche to inns like La Bonne Auberge between Cannes and Nice, and the Château Madrid, which has an outdoor terrace hanging high on a precipice over the sea—the same that has been impressed in literary history by Somerset Maugham in *The Razor's Edge*.

Beaulieu, hottest place on the Riviera, nourishes a banana crop and a large English colony. It has also recently unveiled a place called La Réserve, the newest, most fashionable, and most expensive inn on the coast. A pink fairy palace nestling by the sea, La Réserve de Beaulieu frequently displays real live princes and princesses, who in winter are preserved in a glass enclosed dining room overlooking the water. There are 40 rooms in the house, each decorated in an individual motif, and many, at one time or other, have contained the cream of the Hollywood as well as the continental tiara set.

At Vallauris, visitors will find Picasso puttering with pottery, his new love, and there is a Picasso museum at Antibes. The Picassoists, incidentally, will hold a festival at the museum on March 11. At Cagnes-sur-Mer tourists can look inside the house where Renoir lived, painted, and—in 1919—died.

Grasse, 12 miles from Cannes, produces enough perfume to intoxicate an army. If all the roses, jasmine, orange blossoms, and carnations grown in Grasse in a year were heaped on a scale at one time, they would tip the beam at 10 million pounds. Virtually every ounce of "Seduction," "Stirring," "Sleeping," "Shocking" and so on contains a drop of something produced at Grasse. There are excursions to Grasse from Nice and Cannes, and tours for tourists through the factories.

In Nice's open market flowers are almost as much a staple of life as the potato in Ireland. They are cheap and plentiful, and housewives buy them with the cabbages. In winter,

also, the exotic foods of Southern France are spread out at the *Marché Courssaleya*, a block from the sea. On the mongers' carts one will find *sanguins*, a mushroom that grows on pine trees, and is eaten fried with garlic. *Kakis* are sour oranges. You cut out the middle part and fill the hole with rum and sugar. *Panis* is a cake made of chestnut flour. It looks like a discus and is perhaps as edible. Vendors also offer an item called *pissaladiera*, a tart made mostly of onions. In the fish market, of course, is the octopus supreme, a stringy, disagreeable looking confusion which the French adore. The large ones are called *poulpes*, the smaller ones, *seiches*, and, if you don't look at them before they're prepared, they are really wonderful to eat.

The best place to eat octopus in Nice is a tumbledown establishment in the old quarter called Da Bouttau, which has specialized in serving them since 1860. Da Bouttau has no menu, no checks, and no partition between its kitchen and dining room. Maurice, the quiet brother, runs the kitchen. Jean, the uninhibited one, recites the menu, serves the orders, and in lieu of a check draws a sketch of what you ate. In the guest book are not sketches but the autographs of notables. Daladier and Norma Talmadge are but two of many.

In Nice one can eat Niçois, Provençal, or just plain French. The best restaurants, save for the hotel and casino dining rooms are three in a row on the Quai des Etats-Unis leading away from the winter market. Left to right, as you face them, they are La Maison Rouge, Le Cabaret, and Raynaud. All front on the sea, and all are expensive.

A block away, inside the market itself, is Le Chat Noir, a dive which never opens until midnight, and never closes until the last customer goes home. Since the club is in a cellar, and thoroughly insulated against such realities as recurring dawn, it sometimes does not close until well into the morning, when the white-wine breakfast is being served to pushcart peddlers in the bistro above it on the ground floor.

Anticipating that the novelty of Riviera life as it has been may seem neither gay nor mad enough for an American multitude, the French National Tourish Office will whoop things up this winter. Already a series of 28 galas, festivals, and balls have been announced to extend from February through April. Biggest will be the established Carnival of Nice, which begins Feb. 17 and runs on and on, with parades, battles of flowers, masquerade balls, and fashion shows.

Twenty-five thousand multi-colored bulbs, and a hundred searchlights will light up Nice. An endless supply of champagne will light up its visitors. The theme of the Carnival this year will be Life in the year 2000. Right now tourist office personnel is wondering what interesting bathing suit designs the theme will produce and popularize.

The famous Bikini beach costume may have passed its crest. Last year the symbol of the Riviera, this winter the Bikini is, for the first time, being shown in Miami Beach shops where sales are few. The French are rather pleased with it as their own creation, and with the singular nonchalance with which they alone so far have been able to wear it.

When Henri Ingrand, French Commissioner for Tourism was in New York recently, reporters pressed him for an official opinion on what is referred to in America as the "French bathing suit." Being both French and male, M. Ingrand sighed audibly, then replied with exquisite caution, "When the women are beautiful—*ah, c'est très agrèable.*"

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

IF YOU GO TO FRANCE, you are permitted to take along duty free either 1000 cigarettes, or 250 cigars or 250 grams (about ¼ lb.) of your favorite tobacco. You must, however, declare what you have.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST "millionair," Cmdr. Ivan Vasilivits Smirnoff, who has over 4 million flying miles and 28,600 hours of flying time to his credit, has retired from active flying as Chief Pilot of the KLM, Royal Dutch Airlines. He will serve the company in the General Inspection Department. The 53-year-old flyer is the author of *Smirnoff Tells*, and *The Future Has Wings.*

THE SKI HAWK SCHOOL of the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec has collected a truly international staff of instructors. The noted head instructor, Fritz Loosli, is a Swiss-Canadian. His new chief assistant, Lionel Terray, 25, is a native of Grenoble, France, formerly coach of the French university team and, in summer, an Alpine guide. Stefan Kandic, the third in command, is a Yugoslav with an exceptional record as a trainer. A newcomer to Quebec, he is a graduate of such world-famous schools as those of Hannes Schneider, Toni Seelos and Emile Allais.

COLONIAL AIRLINES in conjunction with Wheeler Airlines has started transporting skiers from Montreal and New York to the heart of the Laurentian Mountains. Eight daily flights take passengers from LaGuardia airfield to Ste. Jovite in the Laurentians in 3 hours and 15 minutes. Colonial offers a 20 per cent discount on the $42.60 roundtrip.

TWA, the only United States airline serving Switzerland, has inaugurated its first passenger and air service to Zurich. Two flights a week in each direction have been scheduled.

THE WEST INDIES Division of KLM has introduced Constellation aircraft as part of a program calling for a complete revision of services between Miami and points in the Caribbean area. The new schedules provide Constellation service thrice weekly between the terminal points of Miami and Caracas-Maracaibo, Venezuela, with intermediate stops at Kingston, Havana, and Aruba.

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Conceived in Sin: *The new German literature*

Its spirit WAS BROKEN IN THE BUCHENWALDS

Its form —THE LANGUAGE—CORRUPTED BY NAZI DOUBLETALK

NEITHER CAN BE RESURRECTED BY LITERARY QUISLINGS

WHO CALL THEMSELVES 'INNER EMIGRES' FROM HITLER

BY LEO LANIA
UNW's Eastern European Editor

THE world has often been told how tragically German political thought retrogressed under Nazism. It is only now becoming possible to see that German literature, too, lost ground—so greatly, perhaps, that postwar political recovery may far outstrip the literary.

It is not merely that the Nazi regime banned books, burned books, imprisoned authors or drove them into exile. But as a consequence, a whole generation of young Germans grew to adulthood with a grievously stunted taste. More calamitous still, perhaps, a generation of writers has been warped for lack of honest, able, inspirational examples.

A survey of the books written and published in Germany establishes this conclusion beyond cavil. Even among those authors who were not contaminated with Hitler's creed one finds the evidence overwhelming.

I first encountered the phenomenon of Nazi corruption of literature years ago in the writings of Goebbels' disciples: The Nazis were not satisfied with torturing and killing all independent thinkers and authors, they murdered the German language too. The clear German of Goethe and Kleist, of Schopenhauer and Rilke could not be used as a medium for the propagation of Hitler's twisted ideas. The Nazis in consequence perverted and mutilated their language so badly that it may take a whole generation before a noble German writing style develops once again. Today's new writers don't even realize that the idiom they use is every bit as soiled as the brown shirt the average German is still wearing for lack of a new garment.

Though it is true that the number of writers who went into exile was higher in Germany than in any other Fascist country, unfortunately this record cannot be used as a proof for the political maturity and the uncompromising spirit of Germany's intellectuals.

Most of these exiled authors were Jews and therefore they had no choice but to escape if they could. And the "Aryans" who remained, capitulated in the most abject manner without attempting resistance. Today they not only do not apologize for their collaboration, but they attempt to justify it.

They submit, in fact, that it was not cowardice and servility which prompted them to offer their services to Hitler, but a special philosophy of which they still profess to be very proud. This philosophy postulates an "inner emigration." Otto Flake, a well-known but not highly regarded novelist in pre-Hitler days who rose to real fame and rich royalties under the Nazis, explains "inner emigration" in this way: "Certainly we yielded to pressure, but in most cases in the spirit of the Chinese philosophy of Tao—to bend, so as not to break, but to survive. In Germany we have learned the lesson that one should develop one's personality in fields other than political."

Walter von Molo and Frank Thiess are other members of this "secret emigration." Secret it was—not even the Gestapo could discover any flaw of disloyalty in their writings and speeches. On the contrary: These men were regarded as valuable comrades in Goebbel's battle against spirit and truth. Was Goebbels fooled? I don't think so.

Not all German writers succumbed. There were a few—very, very few—who, unable to resist, at least didn't prostitute themselves. Not daring to write and to say what they wanted, they escaped into writing children's books, fairy tales, or stories and

poems dealing with nature, love, animals and other harmless subjects. In doing so they tried to keep at least their language clean and not to fall into the false mysticism and double talk of the "inner emigrants."

Their honesty and common sense deserves credit, even admiration, if one takes into account the pressure under which they had to live. Erich Kaestner, best known in America for his excellent children's book, *Emil and the Detectives*, belongs to that group. Today he is a columnist in the "Neue Zeitung" in Munich which is an official organ of the American Military Government. Kaestner also edits a youth paper, *Pinguin*, which in my opinion approaches the democratic education of the new generation in a very effective manner; the paper is not dogmatic, it is entertaining and speaks the language youngsters understand and listen to.

Fewer than the few who escaped into fantasy are those who opposed Hitlerism. The outstanding examples are Ernst Wichert and Werner Bergengruen who are regarded as the foremost spokesmen of the "new Germany."

Wichert is neither a Kaestner nor a Flake. He was never a collaborator and, while originally he was politically of the conservative, even nationalistic, right, he dared denounce the Nazis and spent many months in the Buchenwald concentration camp.

Wichert is also one of the few who, since the end of the war, is trying to make the German people aware of their terrible guilt. He does not indulge in self- or *folke*-pity or apologies for the past.

Unfortunately, however, there is little hope for the future in his influence. Wichert himself is a product of that Teutonic spirit that paved the way for Goebbel's corruption. He is a mystic. His thinking is unreal, his language vague and turgid, infected by the cheap romanticism of the "Blubo" (Blut und Boden—blood and soil) school of the Third Reich.

The Poet and the Youth which sets forth Wichert's advice to the German students is a good example of his writing and thinking. In this exhortation beautiful sentences propound abstract generalities. German youth is admonished to "honor the great"—but nowhere does Wichert tell them what "the great" actually are or what manner of men they may be. Instead the poet proceeds to admonish them to "love what suffers," to "resuscitate what is tired."

The mission of the poet, as Wichert describes it, is to place himself outside the stream of life—"to dwell silently in the country, like the servant in his little room, and while the lights burn in the house of God, he watches over the sleep of the animals and of the fields. . . . The poet is the silent stream which mirrors the stars of youth." And so it goes on and on, very "poetically" and idealistically, but lacking the vitality, the courage and initiative which young German writers need now if they are to restore their literature to a status worthy of its past.

Trained for 15 years to scream, and be screamed at, Germany's younger writers seem not able to speak in quiet tones. Forced since childhood to cover up their thoughts and to lie, they have lost feeling for simplicity and straightforwardness. Overwhelmed by an orgy of hysteria and megalomania, they scoff at the unheroic and difficult labor of writing with style and craftsmanship.

Aside from Wichert, virtually the only German whose writing today displays true merit is Bergengruen, also a poet. Bergengruen's new volume of poems, published under the title *Dies Irae* ("Days of Wrath") is superior in spirit and literary quality to most new German novels. Most of the young writers show no intention to follow Wichert or Bergengruen, however. "The youth has no time for exercises in style!" Walter Kolbenhoff declares. "We speak the language of our days and we say what never has been said before about the suffering of our German people!"

Unfortunately Kolbenhoff's novel *Our Flesh and Blood* doesn't say anything original or important. All he achieves is an unadmirable imitation of Ernest Hemingway's "toughness."

Others — Elisabeth Langgaesser, Hermann Massak, and Gustav René Hocke—have gone back to the expressionism of the early '20's, escaping at the same time into a kind of mystic romanticism. Miss Langgaesser writes the best German among them, Massak seems the most gifted. His novel *City Beyond the River* shows the talents of a real reporter.

Among the reports and memoirs about concentration camps and prisons and battlefield experiences—the number of these documentary books is still growing—Eugene Kogan's *S. S. State* is by far the best and most important. It is an excellent analysis of the structure of the Nazi world.

A SPIRITUAL VACUUM

While I am of course aware of the dreadful economic difficulties which stifle every attempt at creative writing in this land of ruins and misery, I do not believe that material needs and hunger alone explain the spiritual vacuum. The sickness of the mind, this deep moral crisis, will not and cannot be overcome by a few hundred more calories.

What the German writers owe to their nation and what the world has a right to ask from Germany is: a sense of responsibility—not towards an idolized and impersonal state but responsibility of the individual for his private and social actions. A prerequisite for that is the will to think, to distrust slogans.

Germany needs men and women who have a vision of a new and decent life without being visionaries. They must strive for absolute values, but not to the point of fanaticism, and not without conserving tolerance toward opinions of their fellow men.

And probably the most important task, because Germany today is the most guilty in this respect, the writers must at last liberate themselves from self-pity and stop hunting for scapegoats.

So far the German post-Nazi writers haven't even begun to form a clear picture of these deepest spiritual needs of their nation.

The Author

LEO LANIA is well-qualified to evaluate German writing. He was a leading German author and playwright before 1933. He is now working on his fifth book in English which will be entitled *The Rebirth of Europe*.

Four Faces of Asia

Nehru's dynamic leadership of India and the climactic struggle for China are only two of the events which have given Asia world leadership on equal terms with the West. It is a fortunate circumstance that a growing number of excellent books offer the American readers fresh insight into the sociology, the history and the political life of the various Asiatic countries. Following are reviews of books which present four aspects of modern Asia.

CHINA: THE LAND AND PEOPLE

By Gerald F. Winfield

New York, William Sloan Associates, $5.

THE PAGEANT OF INDIA'S HISTORY

By Gertrude Emerson Sen

New York, Longmans, Green & Co., $4.50.

AN AMERICAN ENGINEER IN AFGHANISTAN

Edited by Majorie Jewett Bell.

Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, $5.

JAPAN DIARY

By Mark Gayn

New York, William Sloan Associates, $4.

Little by little the three and a half million square miles of China are falling into the totalitarian camp, not so much by Communist force of arms as by Nationalist lack of argument. Engrossed in a life-long struggle for sustenance against the odds of ignorance, disease, poverty, and endless labor, the peasants, comprising about 80 per cent of the people, know little of the battle of Titans carried on over them, nothing of the world division which set it in motion, and less than nothing of the problems that the outcome of the battle will pose. The peasant's loyalties must fall to those who offer him immediate help in his individual struggle, and this the Communists have done.

Dr. Winfield's *China: The Land and the People*, published in co-operation with the American Institute of Pacific Relations, sets forth the basic fallacies and consequent impermanence of the Communist program, and outlines counter-proposals whereby China might be aided to raise her standard of living permanently.

Dr. Winfield has lived and worked in China for 13 years as a research biologist, engaged in a study of public health—an appalling spectacle which he finds absolutely irremediable without substantial changes in agricultural, educational, industrial, and social practices. The first part of his book is an array of facts about China: a ravaged land with much that was promising now laid waste by war, the victim of land-wasting agriculture, man-wasting industrial and commercial systems, harrowing lack of sanitation, a cumbersome written language beyond the capacity of the overworked peasant to learn, and all the worst caught up with the best in the constricting web of the past and sanctified by antiquity.

Withal, it is Dr. Winfield's conviction that with her vast reservoirs of natural ability, China has a better chance than any other backward nation to solve her problems. But she needs a plan, and help.

The second half of the book is a partial plan for the rebuilding of China. It starts within the modern farmer's miserable hut, but reaches 50 years into the future. Of first importance is to put into general use a cheap, sanitary compost product to take the place of the disease-bearing human feces now employed (see Dr. Winfield's article in UN WORLD, October, 1948) and which, in itself, constitutes China's greatest public health problem.

America, Dr. Winfield insists, has the inescapable duty to provide the help China demands in the form of trained men and equipment. For it is his conviction that, if 500,000,000 Chinese become Communist, the American way of life cannot survive.

The history of India is a history of thought. In its long progression, conquerors and heroes, intriguants and murderers trail at the heels of thinkers and scholars, saints and sages. And perhaps because India has set more store by her thinkers than by her potentates, she has been able to suffer all the vicissitudes of five thousand years, and remain today a cultural unit, the oldest, and the most diverse in the world.

It is the luxuriant growth of thought, and the equally luxuriant art that reflected it that Mrs. Sen stresses in *The Pageant of India's History*. Passing swiftly, if lucidly, over battles, conquests and huge political upheavals, she describes at length the civilization which at the very dawn of history anticipated much of the most advanced thought of today, and which gave to the ancient world not only spices, jewels, and goodly raiment, but great abstractions: the invisible God, geometry, the decimal system. With a fine sprinkling of anecdotes and paraphrases of old tales and texts, she brings into the ken of Western readers an array of significant personalities, and dynasties that helped to shape the destinies of all Asia.

The first of two volumes, the book views the pageant up to the end of the Golden Age of Hindu and Buddhist culture, a time when Muslims came as students, not as conquerors. A better treatment of a complex subject for the general reader can hardly be imagined. The dramatic story line is held to the end and never overwhelmed even by an immensity of fact.

"Someone or nobody knows, I wot, who or which or why or what is the Akond of Swat," sighed Edward Lear eighty years ago.

Swat is a province of Afghanistan, and Mr. Lear's state of bewilderment about it might well sum up the modern Westerner's attitude to this part of the world. Lying to the northwest of British India it is only by dint of quick shooting, and an unflagging conviction that all Europeans were shaitans (devils) that the mountain country managed to maintain its independence, at the cost, however, of lagging behind other countries in modern technology.

In the 20th century, after suitable treaties had been concluded with Great Britain, Afghanistan cautiously opened its doors to let a few selected Europeans slip through. The late A. C. Jewett was the third American to enter the country, invited, in 1911, by the Amir Habibullah to install a hydroelectric plant. It is a lucky chance that he was one of the most charming Americans who ever went to far lands and wrote letters home. We can be grateful to Marjorie Jewett Bell for having published them in *An American Engineer in Afghanistan*.

The story of Jewett's own activities is only incidental to a multitude of anecdotes and observations concerning Afghan customs and history. He tells of the former despot, Abdur Rahman, who unified the country and hung highway robbers in cages by the roadside to starve to death; of the Amir Habibullah, himself, a vigorous, well-intentioned monarch whose ef-

forts to deal justly with his undisciplined people contrast prettily with Jewett's description of him sitting on the ground and pouring dust over his head in order to gain the attention and sympathies of one of his undisciplined queens.

BETTY STONES

Nothing indicates the apathy of the American reader more dramatically than the fate of this important book. Instead of leading the best-seller list, Mr. Gayn's timely report on Japan and Korea, *Japan Diary*, yields to escapist messages and collections of stale jokes.

Mr. Gayn's overdue warning reminds one sadly of the futile alarm sounded by a young private in Hawaii, who, on Dec. 7, 1941, saw the approaching Japs on the radar screen. No one bothered to check up on the soldier's extra-curricular experience —but a few minutes later the bombs began to drop on the US Fleet in Oahu. Today, too, Gayn sees the danger ahead on the radar screen of his own experience, but nobody cares or dares to disturb the smug circles of the American pro-consuls in conquered lands.

Gayn's description of his encounter with a certain Colonel Voss of the US Army in Seoul, who allows his Korean charges to train on a manual of the Hitler Youth and tolerates a typically Nazi organization of Korean youths, stands out most vividly from the morass of failure and conceit that has marked the administration of General Hodges in Korea. While he is more tolerant with MacArthur, he nevertheless manages to substantiate our suspicion that Japan, too, is moving away from her short honeymoon with post-war democracy.

Perhaps it is not too late to heed the advice of this book, written in apparent sadness rather than anger. But even if Americans at home prefer the virile prose of Billy Rose, Mark Gayn's book should be made required reading for those whose tragic failure he so convincingly records.

LADISLAS FARAGO

BUT NOT BITTER

American Argument with Eslenda Goode Robeson.
by Pearl S. Buck. New York, John Day, $3.

Paul Valéry once wrote that there are two major ways of being wrong about any given nation. The simplest and most salient features escape a country's own people, who grow insensitive to what they have always been used to seeing. On the other hand, the foreigner sees them too sharply, and does not sense the mass of intimate relationships and invisible exchanges by which the mystery of the profound union of millions of human beings is accomplished.

The protagonists of the "American Argument," Pearl Buck and Eslenda Goode Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, seem to have been predestined to overcome that dilemma—the first by her birth and upbringing in the midst of a foreign civilization; the latter by being a member of

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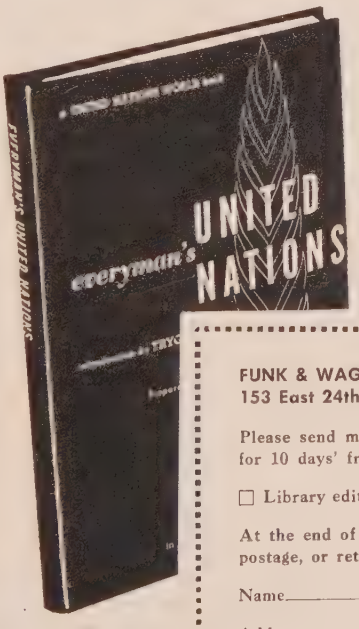

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what amounts to a nation within a nation: both by being at the same time deeply convinced Americans.

This manner of approaching the great problems of our country at once from within and without has produced a vital, luminous and healthily disturbing document. Throughout the book Miss Buck and Mrs. Robeson discuss their childhood, their upbringing, their work, children, marriage, Russia, Jim Crowism, housework, and any other question that comes logically and systematically to their minds. The result is far more than fine conversation. The result is a lucid and courageous picture of our own civilization as it appears to two warm-hearted and noble women of exceptional intellectual gifts. They are always outspoken and Mrs. Robeson is often quite sharp. Not once, however, is their criticism a negative act. Whenever the author or her companion reject a habit, a law, a practice, they immediately offer a replacement of a higher grade. It is safe to say that no nation has ever been so constantly self-critical as the American. But a book of self-criticism of the quality, the sincerity and the thoughtfulness of "American Argument" is in itself the highest compliment to the creative force and expression of the spiritual strength of this land. T. K.

INCOMPLETE HERO

Simón Bolívar

by Gerhard Masur. Albuquerque, New Mexico, The University of New Mexico Press. $6.50.

Simón Bolívar liquidated Spanish power in South America, brought into being five republics, inspired a continent with republican ideals when Europe was discrediting them, and envisioned Pan American congresses and leagues of nations.

He also left a record and legend of adventures, military, amatory, political, that seem made to order for Hollywood.

Yet this strange genius, one of the great figures of his age, the inspiration for a ceaseless stream of books, articles, researches, debates and patriotic ceremonies, has never had an adequate biography. The personality has been too complex; the stage of action too vast; the background of historical events too unexplored; the number of unclear and disputed points too great.

Dr. Gerhard Masur, German scholar long resident in Colombia and at present with Sweetbriar College in Virginia, has attempted the formidable task. His book is a large one, covering Bolívar's life from birth to death, and based on an impressive array of sources. The essential story is told with more completeness and more new data than have been found in most works on Bolívar in English. And Dr. Masur has striven for objectivity, eschewing legend and the uncritical adulation that has marred so many books on the Liberator.

Unfortunately, however, his work is in a style that copes inadequately with the drama of Bolívar and his times, and so cannot aspire to the popularity that the subject merits. And as a book for scholars it has interpretations, and inaccuracies in facts, citations, translation and typography that are disquieting.

Dr. Masur's book is, consequently, by no means the definitive biography of Bolívar, despite the very extensive research on which it obviously is based. It is, rather, another earnest effort to contribute to greater knowledge of Bolívar in the US, something much needed in a nation that has made Pan-Americanism a cardinal point in its foreign policy.

EARLE K. JAMES

PAST GRANDEUR

The Dukays

by Lajos Zilahy, New York, Prentice Hall, $3.50.

Leo Tolstoi made the world at large acquainted with the morals, customs, traditions and mode of life of the Russian aristocracy. Proust found his material in the salons and chateaus of France's "grand monde." Lajos Zilahy now undertakes to penetrate the secrets of the feudal lords of Hungary, that glittering and complex class, today completely ruined, which descended partly from Asiatic conquerors and partly from Western (mainly German) duchesses, princesses, countesses and baronesses.

In a world ruled by stable laws, Tolstoi was first of all interested in the moral problems of his heroes and heroines. Proust recorded the principles of pain and pleasure in a society at the pinnacle of its refinement, beyond which lay only the dissolution. Zilahy is the chronicler of that process of decomposition, brought about by social forces which shape the destinies of titled owners of hundreds of thousands of acres as well as of the humblest proletarians.

The Dukays in the novel have been the leading family of Hungary for over a thousand years. At the end of the story every single one of their traditions is broken, and a form of life built on wealth, privileges and great culture has been shattered and destroyed forever.

The author makes a sustained effort to isolate the causes and characteristic details of historic processes. Occasionally even the voices of Hitler and Mussolini come thundering from the background, and almost every revolutionary and counter-revolutionary conception has its representatives in the pages of the novel.

Fortunately for the reader, Zilahy has much more to offer than a fictionalized study of the relations of individuals to their times. A writer of great talent, exquisitely able to capture the moods of the delicate operations of the inner life, he has created characters which absorb, move and enchant. One of the Dukay ladies, Countess Zia, is an exceptionally convincing creation in the grand tradition of the novel. From the first moment of her appearance, her meeting at the age of 8 with a large, elderly but exuberant governess, daughter of the voluble peasants of the South of France, to her marriage to a bright and courageous young man of the lower classes, Zia Dukay lives radiantly. It is impossible not to open one's heart to the little countess who has all the lovable qualities in the world but had to acquire them at the cost of pain and suffering.

Basically *The Dukays* is two novels. The first, almost 300 pages long, is the story of Kristina, elder sister of Zia. The author's strange device of telling her life story through a diary full of errors and misrepresentations which Kristina wrote many years after the events had taken place, is apt to mislead the reader who remains in the dark too long about the whys and wherefores of the evident distortions.

It is this reviewer's impression that had Zilahy been willing to put up with the limitations of the novel form, and built his work around Zia as the only central character, he would have created a truly classic piece of fiction. But even in its present form, the Dukays is a rare achievement, the work of a true artist who has all the gifts of the great novelist: heart, eloquence, and unceasing inquisitiveness into the nature of men and women and society.

TIBOR KOEVES

PEIPING QUANDARY

The Quest for Love of Lao Lee

by Lau Shaw. Translated by Helena Kuo. New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc. $3.00.

It is many a long year since the news from China has been cheerful; revolutions, rebellions, riots, famines, invasions, assassinations, and all manner of inefficiencies and insufficiencies shackle and lay waste the once Flowery Kingdom. One would expect that this ravaged land would give nourishment only to despairing philosophies like Existentialism. Instead, Chinese writers, at least those who write for western readers, continue to produce works of wit and equanimity and common sense.

The new novel of Lau Shaw, author of *Rickshaw Boy*, concerns a very ordinary government official who falls "between the two stools" (as the Chinese saying goes) of old and new cultures in post-revolutionary Peiping. Unsuitably married to a well-meaning but old-fashioned country wife, he is prevented by ancient morality from embracing bright new ideas which would enable him to break away from her and realize a poetic dream embodied in a beautiful neighbor. His conduct in this disturbing situation is very ordinary indeed; he bumbles, shuffles, and loses his temper. Becoming embroiled in the appalling intrigues of the government office where he works, his behavior is decidedly un-Machiavellian, and so are his attempts to help a friend who is the victim of social corruption. Yet from this maelstrom Lao Lee, with the help of old and new philosophies fused by his own good sense, emerges with equilibrium unimpaired, as do all other tormented characters in the plot.

Thus, a fundamentally unhappy story can be merrily told. Sketches of middle-class Chinese life are especially entertaining. The book is excellently translated by Helena Kuo, who is in admirable command of the wittily turned English which Lau Shaw's irony demands. B. S.

FROM DOWN UNDER

COAST TO COAST. Australian Stories of 1947. Selected by Don Edwards. London, Angus and Robertson.

Don Edwards has brought together a first rate collection of short stories. They are mainly character sketches which vary from Old Angy, the hermit of *Frog Smoke*, who uses frogs as a cure for his ailments, to the benevolent old fisherman with no name who teaches a little boy the meaning of Christmas.

Though the authors' methods vary and their themes range from the tragic to the comical, one trait they have in common is simplicity. One feels that each of the authors knows people and that each character is a real individual—people who accept the challenges of life and face them as they come up.

E. Dithmack's "Beautiful White Duck" is perhaps the most moving story in the collection. It deals with a woman in whose mind a white duck is the symbol of purity —especially virginity. She sees the white duck first humbled by the drakes of the flock, and finally killed by a fox, acts of symbolical significance in her own life.

"A Man About the House" by Douglas Stewart is richly entertaining. It is the story of Mr. Hinge, a demented farmer who attaches himself to a widow and her lovely young daughter. His attempts to gain the favor of both open the door to a number of entertaining incidents caught with an excellent flash of humor.

RAY PALUMBO

SOCIAL FISSION?

Cybernetics
by Prof. Norbert Wiener, New York, John Wiley, $3.00.

This is a book to be approached warily by all but mathematicians. It seems that they almost alone have been aware that, for as long as men have been building governors into engines and thermostats into heating systems, they have been constructing mechanical brains.

Now comes Dr. Wiener of Massachusetts Institute of Technology to report progress and to warn the sociologists, the politicians, the culture-carriers of press and school and church: The men who made the calculators now have the tool to build grotesque macroscopic replicas of engineering brains so efficient as to make the bulk of mankind superfluous.

The machines Dr. Wiener visualizes are such that they could make machines and tend machines and do virtually all else that "labor" so-called now does in an industrial civilization. The tool which makes this feasible is a new mathematics, the mathematics of governors.

The problems raised by cybernetics are too numerous and complicated even to be foreseen. One that the political-military minds will wrestle with is this: If, with the machine-mastering machines Dr. Wiener predicts, a few supervisors can run a nation's industry, how far dare sovereign states allow cyberneticists to go in publishing their findings?

CHARLES BURNS

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

MILAN: TWO NOVELS

GIUSEPPE BERTO, author of "The Sky Is Red," has had his second novel published by Edizioni Macchia. *Le opere di Dio*—"God's Works"—is the story of a small peasant family obliged to flee before the advance of an army. During the night which is the duration of the novel, the family meets with destruction instead of the hoped for salvation.

ELIO VITTORINI'S *Il garofano rosso*—"The Red Carnation"—which appeared in a literary review but was not permitted to appear in book form during the Fascist regime, has been published by Mondadori. It is preceded by a long preface in which the author presents his views on the problems of the modern novel.

LONDON: THE ART OF WRITING AND PRINTING

SEAN O'FAOLAIN discusses his favorite form of fiction writing in "The Short Story," recently published by Collins. The technical analysis of the subject is followed by a selection of eight complete stories, from Chekov to Hemingway, examples of perfect craftsmanship. "A THOUSAND YEARS OF FRENCH BOOKS" is the title of the interesting catalogue Desmond Flower has edited for the comprehensive exhibition of French books organized by the National Book League. (Cambridge University Press.)

ISTANBUL: OLD TURKS

NO LESS than 86 Turkish writers whose first published works appeared in print at least 50 years ago have recently met at a convention in the former capital of Turkey.

PARIS: TEN BEST

THE NEWSPAPER "COMBAT" in Paris has polled its readers for their opinions on the 10 best novelists of France. Here is the list of the winners, in order: André Gide, Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, André Malraux, Henri de Montherlant, Paul Claudel, François Mauriac, Jules Romains, Roger Martin du Gard, Colette.

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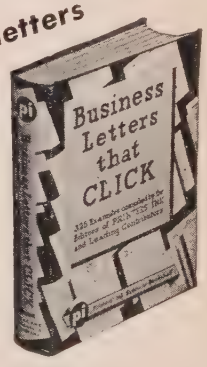

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Why the readers of UN WORLD are abreast with—and ahead of—international news

AS FAR BACK AS OCTOBER, 1947, when the world's attention was primarily focused upon Europe, UNW insisted that, in terms of global problems, "The Asiatic Century is Upon Us" (article by Robert Payne, UNW October 1947, page 41).

AS FAR BACK AS NOVEMBER, 1947, at a time when the world was predicting civil war in Italy, UNW stated flatly that there would be "No Revolution in Italy," (article by Louis Dolivet, UNW November 1947, page 35).

In that same issue, when virtually all of the world's press proclaimed the inevitable death of the UN, the UNW affirmed "The UN is Here to stay" (editorial, UNW November 1947, page 64), a conviction which Russia's refusal to withdraw at Paris last fall made general.

Incidentally, as far back as May, UNW predicted specifically that Russia would not withdraw from the UN: "Why No War" (editorial by Louis Dolivet, May 1948).

AS FAR BACK AS JANUARY, 1948, the UNW pierced the Iron Curtain, and reported the rumblings of discontent inside the Soviet bloc: "Eastern Europe Changes the Party Line," (State of the World, UNW January 1948, page 49).

When the predicted Tito-Cominform break came in July, UNW reported the circumstances which made it inevitable and predicted that the schism would establish a second Communist camp—forecasts which are now being accepted as established by other experts writing on the subject "Inside Story—the Tito Crisis" (State of the World, UNW August 1948, page 2).

AS FAR BACK AS JUNE, 1948, when war rumors engulfed Washington, Moscow, London and other capitals, the UNW calmly aserted that there would be "No War in 1948," (State of the World, UNW June, page 1).

AS FAR BACK AS AUGUST, 1948, six weeks before the Moscow negotiations among the Four Great Powers ended in failure, the UNW strongly urged that the Berlin crisis be brought before the UN, a course of action eventually confirmed by events. ("Berlin's Only Open Road," an editorial by Louis Dolivet, UNW August 1948, page 64).

In that same issue, six weeks before the opening of the UN General Assembly, the UNW pointed out that the Eastern and Western blocs would face a major showdown: "East-West Cold War—Crux at Paris," (State of the World, UNW August 1948, page 1).

In the same issue, UNW predicted the attempts of the Franco government to gain admission into the UN: ("Pro-Franco Offensive Will Be Staged," State of the World, UNW August 1948, page 1).

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WORLD TRADE

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ARAMCO PIPELINE AND DRILLING RIG BETWEEN ABQAIQ AND DHAHRAN IN EASTERN SAUDI ARABIA

Middle East Oil *and the ERP*

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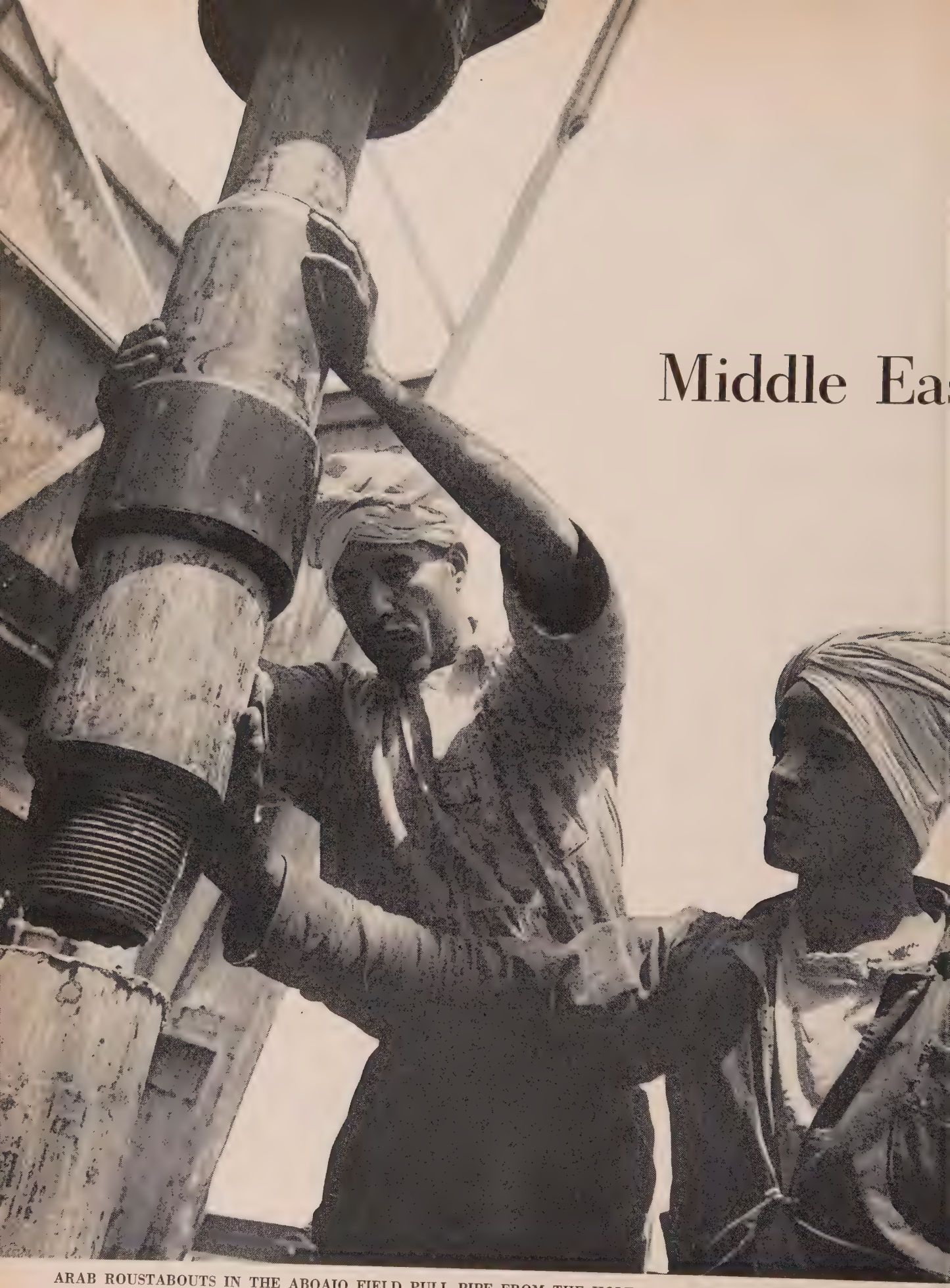

Middle Ea

ARAB ROUSTABOUTS IN THE ABQAIQ FIELD PULL PIPE FROM THE HOLE TO CHANGE A DRILL BIT

AN INSIDE REPORT ON THE POLICIES AND MOTIVES

THAT MOVE AMERICAN, MIDDLE EASTERN

AND ERP GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES . . . AND . . .

A prediction of what may come when the oil itself is gone

)il and the Marshall Plan

BY DON PERETZ

Special Correspondent in the Middle East

HAIFA: In the vanguard of US foreign policy in Western Europe are the US oilmen in the oilfields of Arabia. Upon what they do, or fail to do, largely depends ERP success.

In 1946 Western Europe annually consumed only .7 of a barrel of oil per capita as against the US average of 13 barrels. By 1951, in the third year of the ERP aid, Western Europeans will need an average of 2½ barrels each. For central to ERP economic recovery today are the programs to re-tool and mechanize European industry by adopting the most modern equipment and methods. This means oil as well as coal, more diesel engines in locomotives and in cargo ships. It means more tractors, more trucks, more busses, more oil furnaces for industrial plants, offices, homes. Not only will oil turn the wheels in mill and factory, on railroads, on highways; it will also power the planes, tanks and mobile artillery of Western Europe's armed forces. By 1951, moreover, more than 80 per cent of the oil for ERP nations will flow from the Middle East, or double the amount this region supplied in 1948.

While the Soviet Union and its satellites looked on with something more than envy and something less than emulation the recovery of Western Europe in 1948 was sparked and speeded by oil from the Middle East. During the second and third quarters alone of this critical year shipments to ERP countries amounted in round numbers to:

- 17,786,000 barrels of crude oil.
- 34,000 barrels of aviation gasoline.
- 2,438,000 barrels of motor gasoline.
- 887,000 barrels of kerosene.
- 1,167,000 barrels of gas and diesel oil.
- 4,930,000 barrels of fuel oil.
- 19,000 barrels of solid petroleum products.

So vital is oil, and more oil, to success of the Marshall Plan that one dollar of every five spent by ECA to date has gone either to purchase oil or oil equipment.

Hence the oil fields of the Middle East have become the hub in the wheel of US economic strategy as this is inseparably linked with its political, diplomatic and military strategy. Whenever Arab-Jewish warfare causes a decline in the output of the Haifa refinery, or blocks the laying of new conduits to lengthen the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line into Syria and Lebanon, US plans to invigorate Western Europe's economy are set back.

Some high Washington officials are convinced that the entire European Recovery Program is being floated on a wave of oil in much the same way that in World War I "the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil," in Lord Curzon's memorable phrase. Certainly during the last two years, the economics of Middle East oil has sponsored some of the more baffling conflicts and contradictions in US foreign policy.

That policy has been marked, mauled, and moulded by these critical considerations:

- The belief in various quarters in the State and Defense Departments and the ECA that, to insure an uninterrupted flow of oil to Europe, the political and geographic status quo of the Middle East had to be maintained, intact.
- The drawbacks and difficulty, for both humanitarian and ballot-box reasons, of opposing the attempts of the Jewish State to absorb new immigrants, notably from among the refugees and displaced persons of Europe.
- The view that, to resist Communist infiltration of the Middle East (and efforts of the USSR to exploit and canalize the protests and discontents of its impoverished masses), it was necessary to encourage any activity that would hold out promise of rais-

Middle East Oil *continued*

ing living standards in that area; and that the new technology as epitomized by US oil wells and derricks and roads and higher wages and better health was at least a step in the right direction.

Except for Israel, where living standards compare favorably with those of pre-war Belgium and Sweden, the Middle East is almost entirely a vast slum on sand.

Nearly two-thirds the size of the US, it has a population of 30 million, 80 per cent of whom live on the land at sub-subsistence levels. Their average annual income ranges from $22 to $30 a year (for the 6 per cent employed in small-scale handicraft such as rug weaving, it is $35 a year).

Medieval land ownership and primitive agricultural methods account for incredibly low yields of such staple crops as barley, wheat, tobacco, wool, hides, cotton, dates. The typical home, even in "advanced and progressive" Egypt, is a mud-hut of 1½ rooms housing a family of 6 or 7, all of them especially vulnerable to trachoma, malaria, and bilharzia (see Farouk and Fellaheen, UNW August, 1948). Illiteracy is a mind-deadening plague. Under the same roof are goats, chickens, buffalo or cows, usually afflicted with one or another disease known to veterinary science but virtually unchecked in the Middle East.

Into this depressed and scabrous area, at the century's turn, William Knox d'Arcy, last in the line of British empire builders, introduced the seeds of revolution—the technological revolution that accompanies establishment of new industry. In 1901 he obtained from the Shah of Persia, for $20,000, a 60-year monopoly, the concession to exploit petroleum resources in a territory comprising 500,000 square miles, or five sixths of the kingdom.

Perhaps only the Dutch purchase of Manhattan Island for $24 worth of beads and baubles is comparable as a bargain.

In 1911, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, an outgrowth of d'Arcy's own exploration firm first began production and sale of Middle Eastern oil on a commercial scale. Today this same company, re-christened the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, has at Abadan the world's greatest refinery. Its daily capacity of ½ million barrels of oil far outranks such other Middle Eastern refineries as those at Bahrein, Bahrein Petroleum Co., 146,000 barrels per day; Ras Tanura, Aramco, 140,000, and Haifa, Consolidated Refineries, 45,000.

When, on the eve of World War I, Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty insisted that the British fleet convert from coal to oil, he thrust oil into the forefront of British foreign policy. To guarantee a source of the new fuel, Churchill in 1914 dragooned a dubious Parliament into authorizing 2 million pounds to purchase a controlling interest in Anglo-Persian, and to earmark its oil as the fleet's triple A priority preserve.

Ever since, British oil policy in the Middle East has been determined by Downing Street's imperial design. British oil companies have been persuaded to subordinate the principles of laissez-faire capitalism to the promotion of national interests overseas. The precept that the flag follows commerce was reversed in the Middle East to that of commerce follows the flag.

But, with the Turkish peace treaties, that part of laissez-faire which has to do with free competition was restored by American determination to share Middle East oil resources in the areas defined by the peace settlements as the "Near East Mandates." US and UK thereafter engaged in a strenuous tug of war. The Americans wanted an "open door" policy to gain access to the fabulous oil riches of the region.

The British wanted to hold the door shut. To bar it tightly, they assigned pre-war German rights to oil in the Middle East to the French, under the famous San Remo agreement, forming a partnership in which England was very senior, and France very junior, but which it was hoped would keep out all others.

It didn't. For five years (1920-1925) there were exchanges of notes between the US State Department and Downing Street, couched often in acerbic language as economic reality intruded upon diplomatic urbanity. Since the US refused to recognize the East Mandates unless and until its open door policy was accepted, the British finally decided that it was more important to maintain friendship with the US than to maintain a virtual monopoly on Middle East oil. (See UNW May 1947)

When Britain agreed to divide access to oil deposits with American firms, the US State Department promptly recognized the Near East Mandates. Under the new arrangement, the oil fields of Iraq, for example, were to be jointly exploited through a consortium of British, American, French and Dutch interests, each with about 23 per cent stake in the parent company—Turkish Petroleum, renamed Iraq Petroleum Company in 1929.

The toehold thus gained by the Americans was enlarged into a foothold in 1933 when Standard Oil of California acquired a concession covering 318,000 square miles in Saudi Arabia. This was not the result of British indifference to Middle East oil. It was rather a new tally in an old score of Arabian revenge.

The British, who long before T. E. Lawrence tended to be more romantic than realistic in their evaluation of Arabian institutions and personalities, made, among countless others, the majestic blunder of backing Abdullah in Transjordan and Feisal in Iraq, both Hashimites, both foes of King Ibn Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia. He had driven their father, Sherif of Mecca, from his throne and annexed his domains. The efforts of the British to buttress and amplify the power and prerogatives of the two Hashimite brothers aroused meagre rejoicing in Saudi Arabia.

When, thereafter, British agents approached King Ibn Saud about an oil concession, he was equivocal, cagey, even coy. On the one hand, he couldn't exactly say yes. On the other, in the light of certain contingencies, including Britain's curious choice of friends, he might, unless persuaded to the contrary, be compelled to say no.

The British agents in a mood of confidence planned to return to London for fresh instructions—specifically how far could they go in raising the ante? But further instructions proved unnecessary. Upon their departure, Ibn Saud achieved a subtle revenge by granting an exclusive concession to Standard Oil of California which was later joined in the venture under the name Arabian-American

Petroleum Company (Aramco), by the Texas Company. Together, they established control of oil production in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein, major oil sources, while in Kuwait, another significant source of supply, the American Gulf Oil Corporation formed a new company jointly with Kuwait Oil Company.

While American activity in Middle East oil has consistently grown the British has remained static. Neck and neck in 1948, Americans in the year 1949 are moving swiftly to the front. They not only have access to more oil reserves but also their expansion plans are on a larger scale, and are being realized faster.

At a meeting of Aramco's executives in Cairo in December, 1948, it was decided to spend $520,000,000 in the Middle East during the next five years, to double the current output of 500,000 barrels a day, to complete the TAPline, to improve even further the conditions of local employees who have already immensely benefited from the fact that Aramco pays labor $1.75 cents a day, the scale also recently adopted by the British.

Most of the American, and some British, oil managements contend that their outlays comprise a "junior Marshall Plan for the Middle East." This claim is disputed by some of the Arabian "intellectuals" (non-Communist) who argue that, while the original Marshall Plan was expressly designed to accomplish economic reconstruction and recovery for Western Europe, the activity of both British and American oil companies in the Middle East neither envisages nor can it encompass any such result for the Middle East.

In the first place, it is argued, oil companies are private organizations and lack the political and economic power to carry out any such reconstruction and recovery. In the second place, while the Marshall Plan in Western Europe is directed toward raising everybody's living standards, the economic effect of British and American oil companies in the Middle East is to give huge royalties to chieftains, and big profits to investors, rather than spread prosperity among the masses. In short, while economic activity of the oil companies in the Middle East contributes to the well-being of Western Europeans, similar advantages are not forthcoming for the fellaheen.

Moreover, it is asserted, social and economic changes and improvements are held back since the good-will of rulers is more important to the oil companies than the welfare of their subjects. The most pressing need of the overpopulated and underfed Middle East is agricultural reform and re-vitalization. Egypt, whose needs are greatest, for instance, will receive virtually no oil royalties. Nor in Iran or Iraq or Saudi-Arabia until recently have royalties been used for irrigation systems, fertilizers, plows, hoes, tractors—all the things necessary to increase crop yields per acre.

It is quite possible, it is further alleged, that within the next 60 years the 32 billion barrels of oil already prospected in Middle Eastern sands will have been drained away, the profits siphoned off to foreign countries, the fees and royalties used to solidify reactionary regimes.

While it is granted that the oil companies do give to their employees health and educational and housing benefits hitherto only an Alnascher's dream, these benefits are only transient, since someday the oil companies will depart from the Middle East and there will be no income to keep up all these prideful new conveniences.

What this line of reasoning overlooks is that people who have tasted higher living standards will fight, sometimes even to the death, to retain them, and to increase them (see "There Is No Turning Back," UNW, December, 1948). From this point of view the advent of the West's oil companies has implanted the strong seeds of basic social revision and revolt throughout the Middle East.

Today's modest oil field paychecks are instilling new material wants, desires, expectancies among more than one-half million natives of the Middle East. They will not quietly give up their better diets, and medical care, and homes, and their new literacy and skills and dignity, tradition or no tradition, oil company or no oil company. They and their friends and neighbors will rather insist that their own governments, their own economic systems, supply the same —or higher—living standard.

The paradox of the presence of the oil companies in the Middle East is that conservative corporations, working through noble sheiks and royal shahs, have released and canalized the stirrings toward social and economic advancement that have been long held down in the Middle East. If denied in the future these demands will rage like a flame through all those lands with the pleasant bell-like names—Iraq, Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon.

MAKING A TECHNICIAN. The Arab gets on-the-job training by an American at Ras Tanura Refinery (140,000 barrels a day capacity) between Basra and Bahrein.

Truman's Fair Deal

It won't be revolution but politico-economic evolution

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES THE WORLD WILL DISCOVER BETWEEN ROOSEVELT'S PATRICIAN ATTITUDE AND THAT OF A 20TH CENTURY MIDWESTERN POPULIST

BY HERBERT HARRIS
World Business Editor

In today's world, the Fair Deal is the only economic idea being put into action by a government that is not hog-tied by dogma. No Marx, no Kautsky, no Webb has prepared a blueprint for it. The Fair Deal is as flexible as Mr. Truman, himself, is adaptable. It represents that pragmatism which says in effect "it's good—if it works." There will be no delay on Mr. Truman's part in discarding any economic procedure that fails to pay out. Only the goal is fixed: prosperity by means of full production and full employment.

A MAJOR mistake of the US business community is to regard the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman as Siamese twins. To be sure, they are related. But they are similar rather than identical. Their differences in degree, and in time on the global clock, can develop into differences that equal and perhaps even surpass their resemblances.

The original New Deal was the offspring of crisis, of economic prostration and near collapse. At Roosevelt's first inaugural, there were 13 million people unemployed in the United States. During the previous year, the calamitous 1932, an average of 2,400 farmers and of 6,000 city dwellers were subject to mortgage foreclosure every week. Business failures nudged the million mark while the thunder of banks crashing muttered and rolled from Maine to California.

A moral paralysis, a malaise of the will, plagued leadership in business, in labor, in agriculture, in education. The American people as a whole were not only stunned but frightened, even stricken. They tended to look upon the debacle as if it were not a man-made phenomenon, but rather an "Act of God," like an earthquake, a flood, a plague, a drought, as if malign mysterious forces had been let loose—forces with which no person, no group, or no combination of persons or groups could cope.

By contrast the Truman Fair Deal is being undertaken at a time of prodigious prosperity. Corporate profits, after taxes, stood at 21 billion dollars in 1948, the highest in history, and were equally promising for 1949. At present, moreover, some 60 million people are regularly employed. Layoffs are spotty, seasonal, and of the post super-boom type. Boom business continues in almost every line. Farm income is up to the 18 billion a year rate as against 4½ billion in 1932, and mortgage foreclosures on real property, rural and urban, have declined almost to the vanishing point. The banking system has been made impregnable by means of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The Securities and Exchange Commission functions as a sapient psychiatrist to uncover and arrest tendencies toward that speculative psychosis which was so largely responsible for the Black October of 1929. A slow staggered deflation has set in, which if continued will eliminate the very genuine perils of upward price trends that were coming near the point where they might have pulled the key props from under the national economy.

Despite fears of another depression, which in many quarters are very real and pervasive, the people are reasonably confident that they can look to their government to provide jobs, income, sustenance or at least subsistence in whatever areas of economic activity private enterprise is unable to assure them.

Leadership in business, government, agriculture, labor, education has learned that it is feasible to "do something," not only to cure a collapse if it comes, but also to prevent its very onset. The fact that the reviews and forecasts of the President's admirable Council of Economic Advisers increasingly influence economic decisions in every sphere merely emphasizes this new mental set.

There are other equally important contrasts between the New Deal and its successor. The former got under way in a world which most Americans expected to remain at peace for an indefinite time. But the Fair Deal is getting under way in a world of the cold war, of an uneasy armed and arming truce, where recent memory of World War II, and threats of atomic and bacteriological warfare induce chronic jitters; where the $15 to $16 billion to be spent for defense in a single year, plus the Marshall Plan's $5 billion, exceed the amounts laid out for home relief and work projects from 1933 to 1940. The New Deal, during its first seven years, took place in an America overwhelmingly isolationist in outlook. The Fair Deal begins in an atmosphere where US international obligations, economic, military, moral, and all these signify in money, manpower, material, materiel, are being faced and met as the Marshall Plan, the proposed North Atlantic alliance, and the US role in the United Nations all dramatically attest.

The New Deal in action was improvisation, a trial and error venture into fields unknown and unproved. There was no well-defined body of doctrine, no backlog of experience, on which to draw. The sponsors and administrators of the New Deal in establishing the AAA, CCC, HOLC, SEC, NLRB, RTA, REA, PWA, WPA, and other alphabetical agencies, regarded as experimental and provisional almost everything they did. If a particular effort didn't turn out well (and quite a few didn't) it could be dropped for a new approach.

On the other hand, the Fair Deal, to a considerable extent, is legacy of lessons hardly earned. From this standpoint it is a tactical mopping up operation to carry out more fully the implications of a strategy previously devised and tested—and no longer improvisation. Certainly all the following aims of the Fair Deal are far from innovations:

- To raise minimum wage standards.
- To extend Social Security coverage over domestics, small businessmen, and certain professionals.
- To subsidize low cost housing and slum clearance.
- To provide other subsidies for rural electrification programs.
- To start new TVA's.
- To continue government support of farm prices.
- To impose heavier corporation taxes.
- To make more rigorous federal control of bank credit.
- To give back to labor some of the advantages it lost through the Taft-Hartley Act. The aim of all these programs is not change but completion. They extend a policy, round out a procedure already in force to greater or less degree, already buttressed by years of institutional practices and accumulated know-how.

The basic point of departure between the New Deal and the Fair Deal is to be found in the latter's emphasis on fostering and even enforcing competition as the method best calculated to strengthen the free enterprise system.

This drive will take many forms, and will be pressed with a quiet zeal. There will be few attempts to "break up the big ones into little ones" in accord with the traditional Brandeisian attitude toward "big business." But there will be rigorous efforts to

PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON AN EARLY MORNING, CHILLY CONSTITUTIONAL

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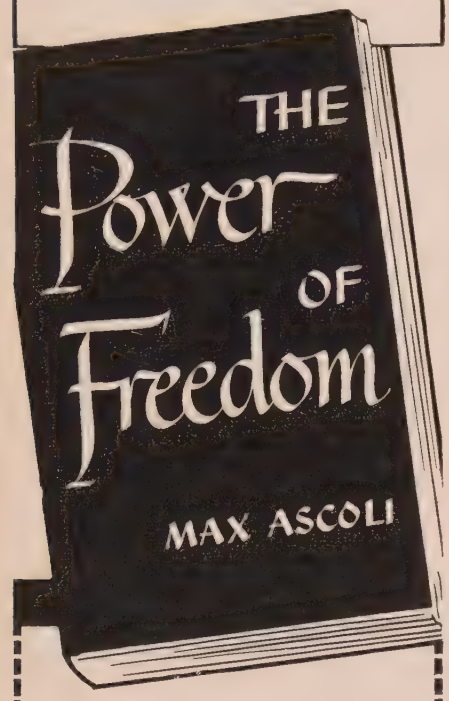
IS
AN ARSENAL



A book that tells the free citizen about his freedom, where it comes from, and what he can do to get more of it

"This is an optimistic book," says its author. "It is impatient with the loud chatter about the end of civilization, the passing of the era of freedom, the need for some thorough-going, all-upsetting revolution."

"Ascoli is master of intensely stimulating paradox and of illuminating figures of speech. Like the Christian statesmen at Amsterdam, he has no more sympathy for the believers in automatic justice from unrestricted individual enterprise than he has for the self-confident and heartless prophets of Marxian automatic perfection. His own solution in freedom as the dynamic relation of men to their work, to their institutions and to each other, is not far from the effective processes worked out during these last twenty-five years by our university research in industrial relations, but he has given it a much wider foundation in intelligent philosophy, and in sound and practical politics."
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Truman's Fair Deal *continued*

set up criteria to determine whether or not the price and production policies of a big company are serving the national interest. It is the quest for these standards of measurement that is behind the current move to launch a new inquiry into corporate malpractice, along the lines of the TNEC (Temporary National Economic Commission) investigation of a decade ago, to uncover and eliminate price-pegging, restriction of output, the allocation of markets at home and abroad, Pittsburgh Plus arrangements, the use of patent infringement suits to harass small firms and keep new ones from entering a particular field.

Mr. Truman and his advisers, more sophisticated than some of the anti-trust apostles of the New Deal, know that large integrated organizations are dictated by technological necessity, and that very often big business sells at prices far below the peak it could command. At the same time, however, they are concerned over the temptation to which noncompetitive big business often yields—to exploit its dominant position to obtain higher profit per unit by limiting production rather than expanding production and taking a smaller profit on more units.

But the Truman "dealers" know, too, that size, as such, frequently has nothing to do with price rigging and pegging and restriction of output. The building industry, which is a congeries of small contractors, holds back technological progress and holds up the public to an extent perhaps greater than that of any other economic alignment in the country.

The Fair Deal, in its approach toward "bigness," toward concentration of economic power, will seek to delimit and to separate the operations of corporations that ramify out into unrelated activities—such as the acquisition of a pharmaceutical factory by a steel appliance firm.

It will discourage mergers by purchase of physical assets. It will seek to segregate the manufacturing from the merchandising function, to call a halt to ownership of gas stations by oil companies, to ownership of theaters by movie makers. It will seek to compel more competition on the railroads by ending rate reductions given larger shippers and freight ra discrimination among various par of the country.

The O'Mahoney bill for the feder licensing of corporations, which h been kicking around Congress for dozen years, is being re-examined see if it would be a genuinely effe tive medium for persuading corpor tions to comply with the Fair Deal insistence on "social responsibility and on economic opportunity f smaller business. This stress on com petition as a kind of *summun bonu* also reflects the difference betwee the economic philosophy of M Roosevelt and that of Mr. Truman.

The former was less concerne with the structure and forms of ec nomic power than what was don with it. He wanted all men of bi business to be like W. Averell Harr man, to display, as Roosevelt himse displayed, a sense of patrician *n blesse oblige*. His major frustratio and disappointment was that bi business did not share his code i this respect.

In the early phase of the New Dea Mr. Roosevelt held high hopes fo NRA. In his mind, it was to becom a great and challenging adventure i industrial self-government, self-regu lation, and self-discipline. In ex change for new anti-trust immunitie freedom to act in concert on price and production, big business was t assume new obligations toward labo notably on minimum wages and co lective bargaining.

That big business did not live u to his rose-tinted expectations—in hi opinion did not carry out its part o the agreement—accounted for th vengefulness he showed toward "ec nomic royalists" in later days.

But Mr. Truman's attitude is tha the very existence of too massive ag gregates of economic power consti tutes a danger in itself, no matte how they may behave.

For Mr. Truman, despite all hi party regularity, is by instinct less Democrat than a Populist. And Populist is a man who believes in th chance for everybody to be his ow boss, to own his own business. H has an instinctive distrust of grea economic power, whatever its man ners or morals. Populism as a politi cal movement was and remains th

protest of the grain grower, the craftsman or worker who wants to be a proprietor, and the small businessman who feels himself squeezed by monopoly. It was and is a movement against the "trusts," against "Wall Street" against all the other stereotyped symbols of concentrated control over profits, prices, wages, production, risk capital, over the resources and mechanisms of economic life.

Mr. Truman, as the spokesman for the farmer, the worker, the small businessman, will therefore push for de-centralization of private economic power even if he has to centralize government economic power still further to achieve that goal. His kind of economic society would see big and small business, together with agriculture and labor, sharing responsibility for the basic economic decisions, with government helping to define the direction, lending a hand in creating the over-all economic environment.

Hence, the net effect of the Fair Deal will likely be that of leading the US consciously toward a "mixed economy" in which private enterprise holds one sector, public enterprise a second, while both share a third.

In all of this, there would be no drastic, major change. Traditionally, private enterprise, large, small and medium, has conducted American agriculture, mining, manufacturing and merchandising. Beyond encouraging establishment of more such ventures and discouraging amalgamations, Mr. Truman would not vary the basic pattern.

Public enterprise would continue to dominate the major reclamation programs and so-called public works —the TVA's and similar engineering projects.

The greatest change might be seen in the third sector where public enterprise would still be directed to commodity-price-support programs, financing of slum clearance and similar undertakings. But the government would also seek to supply yardsticks of "fair" price by creating new plants—as proposed for steel.

It is this trend within the Fair Deal which will emerge in the long run as infinitely more significant for the American business community than the various controls on prices, wages, and allocations of tight materials that are the current topics of debate.

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That it and a group of non-profit organizations are forming an association for the promotion and operation of educational and informative travel throughout the world. The coordinated programs will include special tours at attractive rates for individuals and groups and will embrace all categories from student movements on government ships to highly specialized cultural and trade development tours. The next issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD will contain further details.

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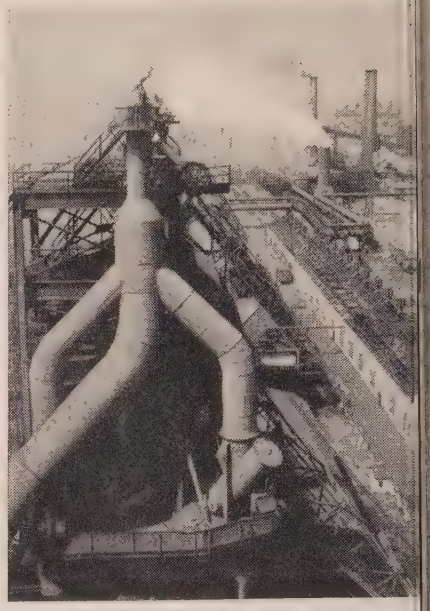
The strain to bring forth industrial economies

Labor Pangs In the East



STEEL PLANT AT MAGNITOGORSK

THIS IS THE SECOND, THE PLANNED, REVOLUTION BY WHICH, FROM THE BALTIC SEA TO THE BLACK, POWER AND PLANT AND THE GOAL OF BETTER LIVING WILL CONVERT FARMERS INTO FACTORY HANDS

BY THE EDITORS *of the British Edition of United Nations World*

WIDE PUBLICITY is being given to the four-year plans in Western Europe, where, with the exception of France's Monnet program, long-term planning is a comparatively recent innovation. Far less is known of similar efforts in the countries of Eastern Europe which for some time have been charting their economic future in the shape of concrete two, three and four year plans. These plans give a clue to the kind of supplies the West can expect from the East in the general striving toward recovery over the next few years. And apart from their impact on foreign trade, they will also, if carried through successfully, alter the entire economic balance of the Continent.

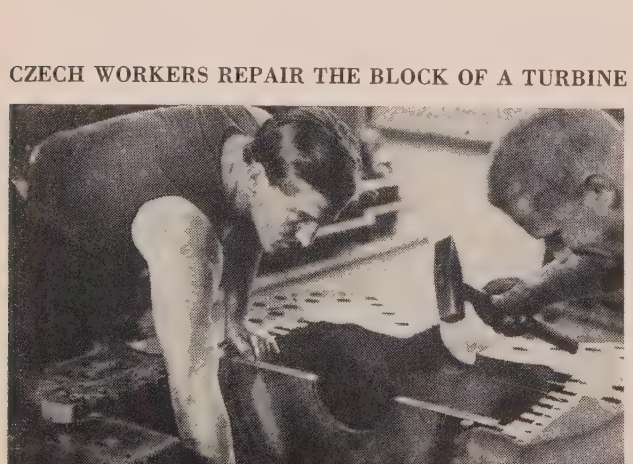
Many of these Eastern blueprints, consciously or subconsciously, have as their model the famous Five Year Plans of the USSR. Their fundamental purpose is to industrialize what are, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, primarily agricultural economies, through a process of intensive saving and investment in light and heavy industry. Before the war at least half of the population lived on agriculture in Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary. The trade patterns of these countries were fairly simple. They exported food and raw materials cheaply and imported expensive manufactured goods.

Long before the outbreak of war rural over-population had become a serious matter. Superficially the war eased the problem through war casualties and boundary changes, and partly because under the pressure of war needs certain industries were introduced and forced.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that most of the Eastern plans envisage a far greater increase in industrial than in agricultural productivity; industry is in most cases to receive the lion's share of new investment. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have allotted industry 90 per cent of the total investment, while Hungary plans to devote nearly two-thirds to industrial development.

Power is the measure of industrialization. Every one of these nations intends to be using at least twice as much electrical power in 1950 as before the war. The biggest single expansion in this field is that contemplated by Yugoslavia, which plans an almost fivefold increase in electrical

CZECH WORKERS REPAIR THE BLOCK OF A TURBINE



power between 1937 and 1951. Indeed, as the recent report of the Economic Commission for Europe points out, electrification is the key to the entire Yugoslav plan, including the development of non-ferrous metal processing, steel, fertilizers and fruit canning.

Electricity, however, will not provide the whole answer. An equally pressing question for Eastern Europe is where and how to obtain the huge quantities of steel required to carry out their ambitious undertakings. The production of steel calls for iron ore and hard coking coal. But the hard coal resources of Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are negligible and what coal there is does not appear to be of coking quality. Thus their first need is to obtain imported coke. Two of the Eastern countries—Poland and Czechoslovakia have extensive coal reserves, but Czechoslovakia is unlikely, given her own expanding needs, to be able to increase exports of coke. Polish coke, of which there are larger supplies, is of poor quality, and in any case much of it is already earmarked for the USSR, Sweden and Eastern Germany.

Throughout this area, then, the only two countries whose steel expansion is not handicapped by fuel difficulties are Poland and Czechoslovakia. But these are precisely the two nations most lacking in supplies of native iron ores. Admittedly Poland can import rich Swedish ores in return for its coal exports, but for some time to come expansion of the steel industry will be limited by an acute shortage of heavy processing equipment. These supplies can be obtained only from the USSR, the West or Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union has promised rolling equipment, but deliveries from the West and Czechoslovakia are problematical. Czechoslovakia's own steel industry is some fifty years old, and the country has a long way to go before it can play its intended role as the Ruhr of the Eastern European economies.

For these reasons it is estimated that together the Eastern nations will do well to boost steel production from 5,000,000 tons in 1947 to 8,000,000 tons in 1951, an increase of 60 per cent. Even so, this total will hardly provide the basis for industry as it is known in the West.

As for ordinary coal, supplies should be sufficient to meet all of Eastern Europe's requirements. Poland, the main source, intends to expand coal output from 60,000,000 tons in 1947 to 80,000,000 in 1949, when it expects to have 35,000,000 tons for export. (If the goal is reached, coal will account for three-quarters of the total value of Polish exports.)

All of the plans for industrial production are on an ambitious scale, but perhaps the most expansive is that drawn up by Yugoslavia. An example is the Yugoslav project for the development of its non-ferrous metals —copper, lead, zinc, and aluminum. Yugoslavia contains rich resources of these metals, but before the war comparatively little had been achieved in their utilization. Now the Government plans not only to step up mining output but also, and what is more important, to increase domestic processing of these metals. The plan predicts a level of output in 1951 equivalent to a seven per cent expansion in the production of aluminum, a four per cent increase in zinc production, a six per cent increase in lead and a trebling in the output of electrolytic copper.

All these increases clearly necessitate the construction of new plants both for mining and processing, and practically all the new equipment will have to be imported.

Projects for industrial expansion in the East take up the front of the stage, but agriculture is not entirely overlooked. Some 10 per cent of new investment will be spent on raising agricultural productivity in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and some 30 per cent is to be spent by Hungary. The plans as a whole aim at no more than the restoration of pre-war levels of production; by 1949 general agricultural production is to reach 80 per cent and grain production 98 per cent of output before the war. In order to achieve even this level, however, the Eastern nations will need large deliveries of tractors and an enormous increase in the horse population. Poland alone needs 10,000 tractors and 600,000 horses.

Within the overall target, there are likely to be substantial changes, in the composition of agricultural production. Taken as a whole the nations plan gradually to reduce cereal crops in favor of animal products, canned fruit and vegetables. This policy of diversification is valuable to the East from the standpoint of both soil fertility and cash return.

It is still too early to judge the degree of realism underlying the various plans. What is certain, however, is that for their achievement the Eastern countries must turn either to the USSR or to the West for very large supplies of capital equipment. Only when these have been obtained, installed and put into operation will the Eastern countries be able to make any sizable *quid pro quo* export of either foodstuffs or processed raw materials—with the possible exception of Polish coal.

Their chances of getting any substantial deliveries from the USSR in the near future are limited, since Russia itself urgently needs such equipment. The West has made some deliveries since the end of the war but not on any satisfactory scale. One of the main obstacles has been the negotiation of the necessary credits. In recent months, however, hopes have been raised, at least where the development of specific and scarce commodities are concerned, that transactions may be arranged with the help of the Bank for International Settlements.

If this pattern is extended to include other scarce commodities it might well solve some of the problems at present holding up the industrialization projects of the East European nations.

YUGOSLAVS REPAIR A BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE

Paris

VS

New York

The former for fun, the latter for families

■ When UN folk talk of coffee rather than catastrophe, of bathrooms instead of belligerence, one may be sure that the fear of WW III has subsided. The Editors of UNW, who have long predicted that the tensions of 1948 would not bring war, confirmed acceptance of their thesis last month by conducting a post-holiday survey among UN officials on the subject uppermost in their thoughts: the relative merits of New York and Paris as a United Nations Headquarters. Most of the 600 UN staff members and delegation members surveyed had just returned from Paris; they had lived some 12 months in or around New York City and some 4 months in or around Paris.

UNW Editors talked to these people in the shadow of the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, at the cafeteria of Lake Success, in Long Island homes. The survey was casual, conversational. It spread evenly over the 600 members of the UN Secretariat who went to Paris and representatives of the diplomatic delegations.

They were particularly interested in the aspects of life in the two cities which these people fixed on as criteria for comparing the two cities.

It was the consensus that, while life on Long Island means bathrooms, better hospitals, schools, taxi and telephone service, it misses much else. Following is a box score of 10 characteristics of each city matched against 10 of the other:

Paris

1. For living: Paris inspires a sense of happiness, of *elan*, of enjoyment in the present, the non-sensible, the gay, even the irrational. One has the feeling that something new and bright and adventurous may happen any moment, just around the corner.

2. For music, dancing, fun: Paris is the city without consideration for tomorrow, a place to be gay. In Paris, a diplomat can do as he pleases without having his behavior watched, recorded and retailed by gossip columnists.

3. For food: On a dollar for dollar, restaurant for restaurant basis, Paris is the dream world of the epicure. The choice and variety of dishes on the menus of the city's 300 better restaurants are twice what one expects. Though waiters and proprietors may apologize for shortages, they will nonetheless inquire whether Monsieur or Madame would like the chef to prepare some specialty of the house (specialite de la maison). The meal will be served with a hot plate, the slicing of a steak or the carving of a goose will be a ceremony.

4. For theater and literature: Jean Louis Barrault makes—with the aid of Andre Gide—*The Trial* of Kafka the trial of all trials, the trial of man on trial as himself. Literary Existentialists cluster at the feet of Jean Paul Sartre, realists gather around Camus, and many of the younger people around the curious and hesitant Communist Louis Aragon. Whatever the "school," there is the search for new forms. Political differences do not create compartments of intellectual isolationism. The protagonists of Sartre or of Aragon mingle in the salon of UNESCO with such religious modernists as Francois Mauriac or Jacques Maritain, who is better known as a writer than ambassador to the Vatican.

5. For political excitement: The battle of words and ideas is one of the deadly bon mot and riposte. The accent is upon urbanity, the political mood is on the provisional and experimental. There is nothing final. The conservatives feel Communist strength growing, the Communists cry out against reaction, while the question of the Third Force for France and the world is feverishly debated.

6. For variety in life: For excitement, the Parisien rushes to the city; for moral refreshment of meditation he returns to the country. Along the famous avenues—Champs Elysees and the Rivoli—the shops display a profusion of luxury wares in furniture, rugs, women's fashions. Lingerie, from panties to filmy nightgowns, is the twilight mood for sex. Costume jewelry reflects a passion for design, for stability. Glass house furnishings are beginning to replace those of other materials. The informal sports jacket, adopted from the US, mirrors a search for geometric forms. New cars feature low gas consumption up to 50 miles a gallon.

7. For street life: Paris streets are fascinating, combining the always-milling crowds of Rome and the vivacity of an Oriental bazaar. People hurry, but not for the sake of haste. It is rather an expression of liveliness, of energy. The very expansiveness of word and gesture reflect curiosity and excitement.

8. For casual friendship: Paris is the place where you are never alone. If you go into a restaurant alone, you enter into conversation with the proprietor, the cashier, the waiter. It is a city that is supremely designed to permit the individual to relish the simple things of life, the enjoyments of leisure. The sidewalk cafes invite relaxation. The average Parisian will spend at least one hour a day in his coffee house. In Paris it is normal to sit, to savor life—not to charge against it or to tear into it.

9. For communication: There are not enough taxis and the subways intolerably crowded. Telephone service is a perpetual frustration. Switchboard operators are snappish, seem determined to achieve no better score than three accurate connections out of 15 requested.

10. For efficiency: In Paris a phone conversation almost invariably begins with an inquiry about one's health, and eventually the business at hand is almost apologetically introduced. The date of a delivery is never precise; it is usually "early in the week," (meaning Wednesday) or "early in the day"—meaning not before 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon.

New York

1. For living: New York imbues its inhabitants with a sense of achievement, of being at the center of things. New York is, also, the city where people always have a feeling of not having done enough. It is the place of business, or un-finished business. Leisure is a poor second. There is virtually no opportunity for its creative use, except in museums.

2. For home life: New York is the city of parties at home. There is no wandering into adventure or into the unexpected. There is no feeling that the unpredictable might happen. Parties outside the home in night-clubs run to a drink-and-dance pattern. The drinks are often hard, the music calls for fast, energetic movement, and the very act of dancing becomes semi-violence.

3. For food—in restaurants: New York's better restaurants are inaccessible to the middle or high official earning $5-8000 a year. It is unthinkable even for the diplomat with private income to order fish, meat, salad, cake, cheese, fruits, to serve the wines twice or to indulge in after-dinner drinks. Menus are as limited as the dishes are expensive. Waiters are often rude and unpleasant, seeming to take pleasure in rubbing their patrons the wrong way.

4. For theater and literature: In New York, the entire mood of the theater is that of under-playing, of under-stating. Eloquence, of the heroic scale, is scorned. To the average UN diplomat, Mr. Tennessee Williams' "Streetcar Named Desire" seemed pointless, dull, juvenile. Eugene O'Neill is perhaps the only American dramatist who correponds to his own criteria of "taste." They see literature as increasingly encroached upon by big media, mass distribution, huge sales, movie rights. There is hardly a literary salon that merits the name in the whole of New York City. Discussion, the exchange of ideas, is regarded as a waste of time.

5. For political excitement: The diplomat complains that in New York, politics is cut and dried. He is expected to be either for or against any enterprise, for or against the USSR, for or against everything and everybody in simple blacks and whites. He bewails the lack of variations, refinements, nuances. The ideas of a mixed economy of planning, of socialism, of anarchism, of communism are all, he feels, confined to a common cauldron and damnation.

6. For variety in life: New York is so large that escape—except for those having Long Island or Westchester homes—is extremely difficult. There is a shortage of nearby resorts for a day's excursion. New York's Fifth Avenue shops are abundantly supplied, and much alike. Any good merchandise is costly. But hospitals, medical care, nursing schools and schooling in general are excellent.

7. For street life: New York is hasty and hurried. Faces have a dissatisfied and often hostile expression. There is no stopping on the corner for a long conversation about the state of the world; the only crowing is before shop windows in answer to an advertisement of a special sale.

8. For casual friends: New York is a lonely city. A person by himself or herself has trouble in making acquaintances. In New York an attempt at simple human friendliness often awakens the suspicion "what does he (or she) want with me? What axe to grind? What venal motivation?" But New York is also a helpful city. The lost stranger, the puzzled subway novice will—if he asks for it—be overwhelmed with aid and advice. If one drops a penny in a bus, helpful hands will risk trampling to retrieve it. New Yorkers will race a block to catch a stranger's runaway hat.

9. For communication: Travel is infinitely superior in New York. Taxis, busses, subways are more numerous and available, even if at higher cost. Telephone service is splendid, mechanical, depending almost alone on the ability of the caller to read and dial.

10. For efficiency: In social and commercial dealings, New York is much more efficient. Service at groceries and drug stores is better. So too is traffic control and control of crime.

Six states without a veto

The Potent Little Powers

May yet assure the world of peace

A HEARTENING REPORT ON HOW, IN TIME OF GRAVE DANGER, FIVE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S NON-PERMANENT POWERS HAVE SHAMED AND STIRRED THE GREAT TO POSITIVE ACTION

BY THE EDITORS

IT WASN'T planned that way—but world peace may yet be assured by the small powers. That development —still only a promise—is the most significant to come out of Lake Success since the Security Council resumed meetings here on January 7.

Compounded of both cynicism and hope, it reverses a trend which prevailed from the Council's very beginning, early in 1946, until the autumn of 1948. During that period, the world and the six non-permanent members, looked first to the Big Five, the US, USSR, UK, France and China, for leadership and direction. In time they looked to the Big Three, US, USSR, UK. Finally, hopes for peace rested on the US and USSR.

However, as tension between the US and USSR mounted, the small powers came to realize that, unless they assumed the initiative of mediating, conciliating and arbitrating East-West disputes they—and all others—would be engulfed in tragedy.

This serves to explain why the Mexican resolution, which called upon the Big Powers to compose their differences peaceably, won the unanimous acclaim of the General Assembly at Paris. And this, though it was put forward at the bleakest moment in the cold war. Both the diehards in the West and the Marxists in the East opposed it vigorously, the former denouncing every move toward understanding as "appeasement" and the latter as "bourgeois hypocrisy."

It was, also, small-nation demand for peace that explains the overwhelming vote instructing the Atomic Energy Commission, in the face of US and UK opposition, to carry on its work. The small nations simply refused to accept the impossibility of the West's reaching an accord with the USSR on this pivotal issue.

Similarly, in the debate over Indonesia, still another small power, Australia, led the way. It was able, backed not by armies but only by the prestige of its membership in the Security Council, and Mr. Evatt's role as President of the General Assembly, to create an atmosphere of intense moral repudiation of Dutch action. This was an influential factor in speeding the drastic US resolution to halt fighting and order immediate release of Indonesian leaders.

The dilemma of the West was either to act leniently toward the Dutch—a significant component of the ERP, of Benelux, of Western Union and, potentially, of the North Atlantic Defense alliance—or to go along with the small-power position. The US was rightly praised for choosing the second alternative, but initial credit for maintaining in Asia at least a fragile and precarious equilibrium belongs to Australia.

The blame for failure of this measure must lie largely on a big power, the USSR, which committed the blunder of abstaining, and thus contributed to the defeat of a major provision of the American proposal.

Even more dramatic than all the

foregoing were the mediation efforts on the Berlin issue led by the Argentinian Chairman of the Security Council (UNW, January; page 5, this issue).

The result of all this is that the value of the seats held by the smaller powers in the Security Council is rising as rapidly as seats on the Stock Exchange in a bull market. Norway, for example, only a few days after its arrival at the Security Council table, gained both the honor and the leverage that go with the important Chairmanship of the Palestine Committee.

The self-assumed function of the small powers as mediators will last as long as the crisis between the US and the USSR continues—short of war. *And the great central fact that differentiates 1949 from 1948 is the conviction, shared by a majority of the members of the Security Council, that war is not imminent.* And, since the prospects of war have drastically waned, the prospects for successful mediation by the small powers have for the first time become a political reality.

Not even peace, merely the promise of non-war is wonderful. That promise may be found in New Year's cards (see page 5) or in the official records. Among the latter are those of the Security Council. Item: Since the end of the General Assembly December 12 and up to this writing, *all major conflicts in and all emergency sessions of the Council have concerned problems which are outside the East-West embroglio.*

Among the other powers there is currently intense debate on the question: Have the US and the USSR really decided to give a respite to the Security Council? Will they settle their own troubles? The arguments revolve around such facts as important policy statements (see explanation of President Truman's "Kansas City Speech" on page 4) and the changing of the secretaryship of State.

From the East is cited Russia's military decentralization and disposition of its forces, instead of concentrating them around such neuralgic points as Berlin. New long-range economic planning in the USSR, for housing and non-strategic consumer goods, clearly indicate that the Soviets expect a long period of peace.

The private unrecorded and off the record opinion of the majority of members of the Security Council is that there has been no basic change of policy, either in the US or USSR.

The US continues to believe that without radical revision of the doctrine that capitalist and Soviet societies cannot coexist compatibly, co-operation will not be possible.

The USSR is equally convinced that, without abandonment of the system of alliances such as the Western Union and the North Atlantic Defense Union and the projected military lend-lease—and without a radical change in the Marshall Plan to eliminate its strategic aspects—peace cannot be expected.

However, most observers in the Security Council are convinced that, if there is no radical change in the two policies, there has been drastic change in tempo and in immediate strategic objectives.

It appears that both the US and the Soviet Union are very conscious of the fear their tension has created, and of the tendency of world public opinion to blame both principals.

Each is now attempting to shift responsibility for the gravity of the situation on the other. The US is in the more favorable position, because it is backed by the overwhelming majority of UN members, its contribution to the reconstruction of vast sectors of the world is very real and very constant, its political ideology corresponds to an infinitely greater part of the countries represented both at the Security Council and the UN in general, and it is not hampered by the rigidity of a doctrine.

A PROPOSAL THAT MAY SETTLE THE BERLIN CRISIS

In the meantime, the non-involved members of the Security Council continue their active preparations for an acceptable solution to the Berlin crisis. The latest project, put forward on the control of the Soviet mark in Berlin, points a way out of the situation created by two apparently irreconcilable points of view.

The Soviets maintain that the issuance of currency for Berlin belongs exclusively to the Soviet-controlled bank for the Soviet occupied part of Germany, and that the 4-power commandatura should deal only with the actual distribution of this currency throughout Berlin. According to that concept, the real deciding power would of course be the Soviet-controlled bank—that is, Russia.

The Western powers, on the other hand, insisted on having the complete control over the issuance, distribution and use of the Soviet mark in Western Berlin. They argued that without control at the source, it would be impossible to have any effective control on the economy of the area. They were afraid the Western occupied areas would be completely integrated into the Soviet zone. Neither the Soviets nor the Westerners were able to find a solution or ready to make the concession.

The UN observers have found a way to begin unraveling the Gordian knot. They started with the assumption that anything involving a major concession for either side would be unacceptable. The solution they found meets that difficult requirement and provides both safeguards and the necessary face-saving.

The proposal drafted by the UN's Committee of Experts provided for two separate administrations for banking and credit: one for the Western Zones, another for the Soviet Zone.

The functioning of these administrations would be harmonized by a co-ordinating committee of the four powers which would act only by unanimous vote. Each administration would be headed by two *Stadtkontors* to advise on money exchange and credit in their respective zones of jurisdiction, both subject to the authority and direction of the Berlin Bank of Issue.

The Berlin Bank of Issue would be a subsidiary of the Bank of Issue of the Soviet Occupation Zone but would be run by the four powers.

The Berlin Bank would supervise the introduction of the Eastern mark in the whole of Berlin and would determine the amount of currency to be issued to the two *Stadtkontors*.

The experts' plan provides for full publicity of currency and credit policy in both sectors.

Thus, the Soviets would have the satisfaction of having the emission of the Eastern mark within their competence and the Western powers the guarantee that they can, through administrative, supervisory control, oppose absorption of Western Berlin's economy into the Soviet Zone.

Thus, when and if this plan is accepted, the financial representatives of the US, the United Kingdom and France will find themselves in the curious position of being co-directors of a Soviet-controlled subsidiary.

The Charter Has a Point

On which is impaled the diplomatic long week end

KASHMIR REFUGEES IN CAMP PHOTOGRAPHED BY UN FIELD TEAM

THE Netherlands' paratrooping "policemen" who on December 19 dropped out of the skies onto Jogjakarta, capital of Indonesia, may have accomplished something of lasting significance. Not only did their dramatic "Superman" exploit throw into full relief the anachronism of 19th Century colonialism, it probably will effect a major reform in Security Council attendance.

As a result of the chagrin and embarrassment suffered by four of its Big Five members (see page 13) and the Ukrainian representative, it is unlikely that the Council will again be caught with its members dispersed. And dispersed, moreover, in direct violation of the Charter. Article 28, anticipating some such surprise tactic as the Dutch movement against Indonesia, specified explicitly that "each member of the Security Council shall . . . be represented at all times" at the council table.

Though no issue has been made of this failure to be in continuous session, it will scarcely occur again.

THE INDIANS HAVE A WAY FOR IT

United Nations—and world—history was made in Kashmir when India and Pakistan dramatically ordered their troops to cease fire on the first day of the New Year. This success ended 14 months of armed conflict

and climaxed six months of work by the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, whose task it was to negotiate a peace and a plebiscite. It also brought personal acclaim to Dr. Alfredo Lozano, the Colombian member of the Commission, who led the efforts to achieve a truce. It was he, in both New Delhi and Karachi, who won agreement to the plebiscite terms.

INTERNATIONAL BANK LENDS $34,100,000 TO MEXICO

A specialized agency, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is making two loans to Mexico totalling $34,100,000 for power projects in that country. It is also sending missions to Colombia, Peru, Turkey and India to conduct over-all financial surveys and examine possible developments which the Bank might finance.

ANOTHER MYRDAL BECOMES EMINENT IN THE UN

While the UN's political bodies continued to occupy the limelight, the less spectacular, more successful UN agencies made a smooth transition from the old year to the new, with new plans taking shape and earlier ones showing results.

Alva Myrdal, Swedish sociologist and wife of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, Gunnar Myrdal, was appointed top-ranking director of the UN Department of Social Affairs for one year. Mrs. Myrdal, whose salary will be $11,000 a year plus allowance (her base salary is identical with that of her husband), is the second woman to be appointed director in the UN Secretariat, the third highest position after the Secretary General and Assistant Secretaries General.

The Social Affairs Department has jurisdiction over the problems of health, narcotics, social welfare, cultural and educational matters, human rights and displaced persons. Mrs. Myrdal's task when she takes over her top administrative post the beginning of February will be to co-ordinate the various activities of the department and be first adviser on policy.

Mrs. Myrdal is taking time for this job from her pressing activities in the Swedish government where she is on several social planning committees. She has had wide experience on questions of Housing, Population and Family legislation. She represented Sweden at the ILO Conference in 1945 and the UNESCO Conference in 1946. She was Chairman of the National Association of Business and Professional Women from 1938-1944, and has served with the Joint Committee on Educational Reconstruction in Europe. Mrs. Myrdal is the author of several books, among them "Nation and Family" and "Crisis in the Population Problem."

Hers is one of the UN's busiest departments, its services greatly in demand by member nations. A three-man team has just returned from a survey of Ecuador's child welfare organizations and its system of private and public welfare agencies. A report on its findings is in preparation. In addition to this survey, the team worked out a tentative plan for the creation of an Ecuadorean civil service.

Another mission returned recently from the Philippines after an 18-month stay during which it helped the government with problems of child welfare, juvenile delinquency, and training of social workers.

Meanwhile the Department has sent Dr. W. Pettit of the US, formerly head of the New York School of Social Work, to Guatemala to set up a social work school which opens February 15. Guatemala has asked for two more experts to serve on its staff for one year. Two other Latin American countries—Bolivia and Haiti—have asked for help in setting up juvenile courts and other welfare services.

■ The Permanent Central Opium Board in a report covering the movement of narcotic drugs in 1947, stresses the increasing use in certain countries of heroin as a pain-killer, and it points out the danger of serious addiction. Twelve of the 22 countries which used the largest quantities of heroin have markedly increased their consumption in the last 12 years. The five heaviest consumers are Finland, Italy, New Zealand, Sweden and Australia. The problem has been brought to WHO's attention and its narcotics experts will meet at the end of January to discuss it.

In no other field has the United Nations achieved so great success as in that of the narcotics. The powers of supervision, investigation, allocation and control, so bitterly debated in the atomic field, for instance, are unquestionably accepted by every nation in the field of drugs.

UNESCO, UNDER A NEW CHIEF, STARTS ON A 6-POINT PROGRAM

UNESCO started 1949 with a new Director-General, Jaime Torres Bodet. Mr. Torres Bodet, former Foreign Minister and Minister of Education of Mexico, distinguished himself by conducting a campaign against illiteracy in 1943 during which 1,300,000 people learned to read.

UNESCO in 1949 is proceeding with its six-point program: activities in education, in educational reconstruction, in communications, in cultural interchange, in human and social relations, in the natural sciences. Several new projects have been added to the basic program.

■ In education and educational reconstruction, UNESCO will help refugee intellectuals find jobs by asking member governments to provide work for them, particularly in universities. The agency plans two education seminars for 1949, one in the Far East and another in Latin America, both on illiteracy. Plans are under way for an International Institute of the Arid Zone, similar in set-up to the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon which was established last year. (The Hylean Amazon Institute was created by a conference sponsored jointly by UNESCO, Peru and Brazil, which took place April 30-May 10, 1948, in Iquitos, Peru, and was attended by the Latin American countries bordering on the Amazon region as well as governments with territories in the area. The Institute, which will study the Amazon region, has set up an Interim Commision at Manaus, Brazil.) A committee of experts and delegates of the Specialized Agencies will meet soon to map out the Arid Zone Institute, whose purpose it will be to study ways of utilizing to better advantage desert areas of the world.

UNESCO has agreed to send an educational mission to one of its members, Afghanistan, to make suggestions for improvements. Two other UNESCO members, Hungary and the Philippines, expect similar missions.

■ In communications, UNESCO is initiating a weekly 15-minute radio service available to all radio stations.

AN FAO MISSION sent this photo of rice-threshing with buffaloes to Lake Success.

Let There Be Bread

And fats and fruit, meat and fish and vegetables

THE Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is that specialized agency of the UN through which 58 member nations work in concert to banish man's oldest enemy: hunger.

In line with its policy, FAO began its 1949 program by setting up a Working Party to deal with Commodity Problems. Members are representatives of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, India, the United Kingdom and the United States. They will study 12 commodities: wheat, sugar, coarse grains, rice, cotton, fats and oils, coffee, rubber, wool, dairy products entering into world trade, cacao and tea.

FAO has also created a Distribution Division which will bring together the servicing of the International Emergency Food Committee for its work in recommending allocations of short foodstuffs and supplies and longer term work on distribution and commodity economics.

FAO is, as well, strongly support ing a renegotiation of an Interna tional Wheat Agreement to bette stabilize the price and the volume o wheat in world trade. Such a pro posal, drawn up early in 1948, was not ratified by the United States o America. President Truman, speak ing to the FAO Conference, prom ised that if another can be negoti ated he will try to get it ratified

BY NORRIS E. DODD
Director General of the FAO

FAO POLICY: "The basis of all intergovernmental arrangements should be an expansion of consumption and not restriction of production. But the best laid plans for the development of agriculture can be defeated by instability of prices. Therefore, only by consultation and co-operation between governments can reasonable stability of agricultural prices be achieved."

SCIENTISTS OBSERVE placing of rat bait by FAO agents in Florence, Italy.

Principal wheat-producing and consuming nations were to meet in Washington, D. C., on January 25 to begin the negotiations.

The question is: Will the findings of the Working Party on Commodity Problems be accepted and adhered to by member nations? The experience of FAO has always been gratifying. Last year the International Emergency Food Committee of FAO recommended a total of 475 allocations. In only 13 cases did a government refuse to concur.

The Fourth Session of the Conference of FAO, held in Washington in November to map the 1949 program, has also endorsed and moved forward FAO's work in many other fields. Particularly important is the work to be done increasing production in areas where greater food supplies are sorely needed. Regional offices which will serve as nerve centers for the regions and arms for the headquarters have been set up—in Rome to serve Europe, in Cairo to serve the Near East, in Bangkok to serve the Far East, and plans are being made for a regional office to serve Latin America.

FAO also has made and seeks to make more arrangements for co-operation with regional economic commissions set up by the United Nations. There is an FAO group working with the Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva. Last year these two jointly did splendid work in improving transport and storage of perishable products. FAO has also three members in the Joint Working Party set up by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to determine the equipment and materials needed for expanded production in that region. FAO will have two members in the Joint Working Party which will be set up by the Economic Commission for Latin America, to survey the economy of the region and determine what equipment and materials are needed for expansion of production there.

Another way for FAO to serve the member nations is to initiate conferences to discuss regional problems and thus to lay foundations for future work.

■ Last year at Cairo, representatives of Near East countries made proposals for irrigation and other improvements capable of greatly stimulating the economy of that region.

■ At Baugio, in the Philippines, a series of conferences drew up plans for co-operative action designed to increase rice and fish supplies and improve the nutrition of peoples of South and East Asia.

■ At Teresopolis, Brazil, a timber conference agreed on far-reaching measures needed for developing the forest resources of Latin American countries.

■ At Montevideo, Uruguay, the countries of Latin America made plans for future work in nutrition.

■ At Rome, representatives of European National FAO Committees dealt with problems of agricultural rehabilitation and development.

A number of such conferences are scheduled for 1949: A meeting on hybrid corn to be held from January 10 to 15 in Rome; a conference on grain storage to begin on February 13 in Palmira, Colombia; a Preparatory Conference on Wood Pulp Problems to be held from April 25 to May 4 in Montreal, Canada; a meeting on rinderpest control in Southeast Asia; a forest and timber conference for Asia, the Far East and Pacific; and an animal disease meeting in Warsaw.

POLAND, CHINA, VENEZUELA—THE FAO FILLS A NEED

FAO's major function from the outset has been to provide the technical assistance to its member states. In Europe alone, some 30 assignments were completed by FAO specialists in the year of 1948. Hybrid corn seed, which has revolutionized corn production in parts of the United States, was sent by FAO early in 1948 for distribution to 18 countries in Europe and the Near East. FAO experts assisted Hungary in the use of farm machinery. In Poland and Czechoslovakia FAO veterinary consultants demonstrated methods of controlling such diseases of meat animals as pig paralysis and tuberculosis.

In China FAO irrigation and drainage specialists helped in projects in ten provinces that will benefit 1,750,000 farmers. An FAO consulting engineer helped in planning a long-term program for development of flood control, hydro-electric power, nativation, irrigation and fisheries throughout the Pearl River basin. On two islands in the Yangtze River, chosen as demonstration areas, FAO specialists helped farmers operate tractors and other equipment in terracing, irrigation and drainage. In another major project, FAO assisted in an intensive drive against rinderpest—the "cattle plague" which kills a million animals a year in China, chiefly the cattle and water buffalo needed to till the ricelands.

An FAO mission to Siam, after a three-month visit, recommended methods of increasing rice output. One proposal was to control malaria, which strikes an estimated 3,000,000 Siamese each year and thus weakens the food-producing population.

Another FAO mission went to Venezuela to investigate palms and other plants as possible sources of edible fats and oils long lacking in Venezuelan diets.

Most functions of this nature will be carried over in 1949. In addition, FAO's technical divisions are ready to meet new requests from member governments, as well as to carry out some specific projects already planned in detail. This category includes the following:

■ A course to be conducted in Cairo for nutrition workers of Near East countries.

■ The collecting and publishing of information on the nutritive value of foods—mainly wild plants—used by primitive or remote peoples.

■ A survey of existing international facilities for reporting outbreaks of plant and animal diseases and the need for additional machinery for this purpose.

■ Aid to countries in completing arrangements for the 1950 World Census of Agriculture (65 countries have indicated to FAO that they are carrying on preparatory work for such a census).

■ Assistance to national governments in improving inland fisheries and coastal fisheries.

Far more evidence could be cited to establish that FAO is a going concern. It is working hard, and it is getting down to brass tacks. The scientific information it has, coupled with real willingness of the nations to co-operate in putting modern science to work, promise that food and agricultural problems could be solved to a considerable degree in the near future.

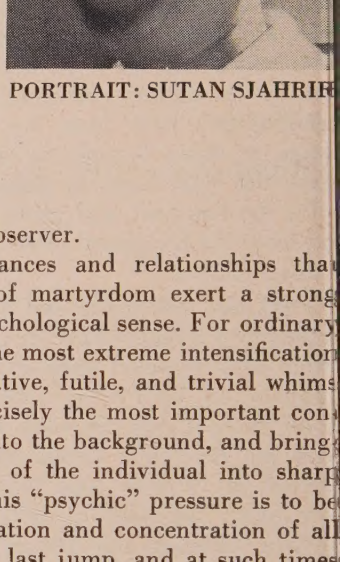
The man chosen to present Indonesia's case to the Security Council

MEDITATES ON THE MYTH AND THE REALITY OF MARTYRDOM

Self-Portrait of a Soul

By Sutan Sjahrir

■ Fifteen years ago Sutan Sjahrir, then newly returned to his home from study in Holland, was arrested by the colonial authorities. In prison he wrote a journal much admired in the East, which is to be published in New York by John Day under the title, *Out of Exile*, on February 23. Following are excerpts which go far to explain what manner of man is the former Premier of the Indonesian Republic and its spokesman to the U.N.



PORTRAIT: SUTAN SJAHRIR

THINGS are not really bad here, and I have a rather large cell with a garden, although the garden is like me—behind bars. If the bars were not there, I could perhaps imagine that I was not a prisoner, but they represent, as it were, a materialization of the concept of force. As a result, you can never shake off the feeling of imprisonment and of the strong psychological effect that this feeling evokes. Fundamentally, it sharpens your consciousness of freedom and makes it impossible for you to reconcile yourself to the circumstances.

This is really the case with me, too. I am not in the least conscious of being a martyr, and the intense suffering that others attribute to me and that makes them suffer merely by thinking about it does not exist, for me, at all. For as far as suffering is concerned, I feel cares only for what I left behind.

Any human being, given certain circumstances and relationships, can be a hero and a martyr. History, in fact, shows that even the mass, with its conglomeration of uneducated individuals, can act collectively with heroism and martyrdom. There is no reason why we should regard the thousands of people who were crucified, burned at the stake, broken at the wheel, or tortured for their beliefs as extraordinary people. In fact, I am convinced that the ordinary human being of today, whose weak nerves and softness is so generally deplored, would have acted precisely the same way under the same circumstances. I know quite well that modern men are apparently much more impressed by such happenings of the past, and I have myself seen people faint when they saw something of the sort in a moving picture. But really that doesn't mean very much because the screen is merely an imaginary drama, and the imagination of the observer plays tricks upon him. The swooning woman or man would actually be capable of quite different reactions if he or she were one of the players in a real-life drama instead of being merely an observer.

The particular circumstances and relationships that produce the phenomenon of martyrdom exert a strong pressure in a social and psychological sense. For ordinary men, this pressure acts as the most extreme intensification of life, forcing all the negative, futile, and trivial whims and desires, which are precisely the most important constituents of everyday life, into the background, and bringing the great potentialities of the individual into sharp relief in the foreground. This "psychic" pressure is to be compared with the mobilization and concentration of all one's physical powers in a last jump, and at such times the goal of life and the meaning of life seem to stand directly in front of the doer's eyes. Bodily pain is subordinated in such a moment of psychic tension, and in fact even increases the tension itself, for physical pain is, finally, also a psychic experience.

For myself, I do not feel at all like a martyr, probably because I am not living in a lion's den or anything like it, but in a modern prison in which everything helps to prevent you from losing your objectivity. Thus far I have been fortunate not to have had any inclination to go off on a romantic tangent by dramatizing my predicament.

If we wish to have a true idea of the word martyrdom, then we would do better to look for another and more contemporaneous type, the type that one finds at the helm of all peoples' governments in this time (for example, the Gandhi type): the type that is animated by a disposition toward objectivity, by a will to dissociate consciously all personal emotions from the contemplations of the object itself, and by a subordination of death and other things that otherwise evoke a romantic tinge to the attitude of objectivity. This requires spiritual self-control and self-discipline, which are learned only by a maximum of diligence and by insight into humanity and into the object contemplated itself.